

17

A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
2.L.c.
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY.

V O L. III.

Containing a History of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Jude, with the Evidences of the genuineness of the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation, the Times when they were writ, and Remarks upon Them.

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L O N D O N:

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M D C C L V I I.

17



Contents of the third Volume.

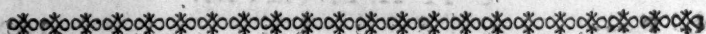
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That the Books of the N. T. consisting of a Collection of sacred writings, in two Parts, one called Gospel, or Gospels, or Evange- licon, the other called Epistles, or Apostle, or Apostles, or Apostolicon, were early known, read, and made use of by Christians. 405.		
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To be corrected in the same Volume,

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P. 64. note (u) lin. 3. l. erat.

164. note (E) lin. 3. l. ἀναγνάζεις.

168. note (x) lin. 3. l. imperaret.

172. note (f) lin. 1. l. paullo.

266. note (d) lin. 2. l. πρεσβυτέρη.

334. note (r) lin. 2. l. δεικνυμένων.

are corrected.

A

*A Table of the seven Catholic Epistles, and
the Revelation, with the Places, where,
and the Times, when they were writ.*

<i>Epistles, &c.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>A. D.</i>
The Epistle of St. James.	} Judea.	{ 61. or the begining of 62.
The two Epistles of St. Peter.	} Rome.	{ 64.
St. John's first Epistle.	Ephesus.	about 80.
His second and third E- pistles.	} Ephesus.	{ between 80. and 90.
The Epistle of St. Jude.	Unknown.	64. or 65.
The Revelation of St. John.	} Patmos, or Ephesus.	{ 95. or 96.

Cor-

*Corrections, Alterations, and Additions
in the first and second Volumes of the
Supplement. &c. are made -*

VOL. I.

P. III. lin. 18. for reason r. season.

112. l. 9. after *Paul* put a comma.

120. Between line 11. and 12. insert this
Paragraph.

Says * *Dr. Fortin* : " In the time of Christ and his Apostles the Greek was really the universal language. The New Testament is a proof of it, if proof were wanting. And this is one reason amongst many others, why *St. Matthew* probably wrote his Gospel in Greek. See *Wetstein's N. T.* p. 224. *St. Matthew. ch. V. 47. 48.* says : "Οτι τελῶναι οὕτω ποιῶσιν. Ἔσεσθε ἔν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι. . . that is, be not τελῶναι, but τέλειοι. *Videtur autem Matthaeus, vocem τέλειοι hic adhibuisse, ut τελώναις opponeret.* *Wetstein.* Add to this, that τελώνης and τέλειος both are derived from the same word, τέλος. So again. ch. vi. 16. We find an antithesis in the words, ἀφανίζεσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ὅπως φάνωσι. *Eleganter dicitur : Tegunt faciem, ut appareant, &c. Wetstein.*"

P. 164.

* See his *Discourses concerning the Christian Religion.* p. 176. note (o) the third edition.

VOL. I.

P. 164. line 10. *After, writ, add: Or rather, he is comprehended in those general expressions. ch. iv. 21. The brethren that are with me, greet you. For in the epistle to the Philippians St. Paul does not mention his fellow-laborers by name, as he does in the epistles to the Colossians, and Philemon. Nor*

P. 201. *Strike out the paragraph, numb. 10. And let the following paragraph be numbered 10. instead of 11. and so onwards.*

P. 204. *at the bottom. Strike out those words: "and at ver. 42. her age, saying, she was twelve years." For that particular is also mentioned by St. Luke. viii. 42.*

VOL. II.

P. 59. l. 5. *for are r. as.*

P. 121. *What is near the bottom of that page should be read thus. He also was in Crete and Illyricum about this time. Having spent the winter of 56. at Nicopolis, either in Thrace, or Epirus, he came into Macedonia. Where he staid some while. And near the end of the year 57. in November, or December, he came into Achaia, and particularly to Corinth, where he staid three months. Hence*

P.

VOL. II.

P. 122. Under l. 7. or 8. from the bottom, may be placed this quotation, with a reference.

Μεταμεληθῆναι δ' αὐτος ἐν παντί τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ γυναικὶ πισῆσαι λόγον ἀπόρητον· ἑτέραν δὲ, πλέυσας, ὅπερ δυνατόν ἦν πιῆσαι τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμεινεν. *Plutarch. Vit. M. Caton. Maj.*

P. 233. Between l. 10. and 11. insert this paragraph.

St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither by *Festus*, was occasioned by his zeal for the liberty of the Gentils, as is manifest from Acts xxii. 21. 22. Of which he also takes notice Eph. iii. 1. saying: *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, for you Gentils.* His imprisonment at Rome, at the time of writing this epistle, was owing to the same thing. For he says here ch. i. 11. 12. *Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentils. For the which cause I also suffer these things.* This is very observable. And indeed the twelve verses at the beginning of this epistle are a most proper introduction to an epistle sent to *Timothie* by *Paul*, at the time, for which we argue.

P. 466. l. 7. r. works.

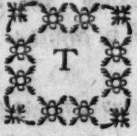
August 6. 1757.



A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
FIRST BOOK of the SECOND PART
OF THE
Credibility of the Gospel-History.

CHAP. XV.
Of the Seven Catholic Epistles.

I. *The Antiquity, and the Reason of that Denomination.* II. *Called also canonical.* III. *Concerning their Reception in several Ages.* IV. *Their Order.*

I.  HERE are seven epistles, which we call *catholic*. The antiquity of this denomination may be made manifest from a few quotations. *Eu-*
VOL. XV. B *sebius* *The Anti-
quity of
this Deno-
mination.*

sebius having given an account of the death of *James*, called the Just, and our Lord's brother, concludes: "Thus (a) far concerning this *James*, who is said to be the author of the first of the epistles called catholic." In another place he says, "That (b) in his Institutions *Clement of Alexandria* had given short explications of all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted. I mean the epistle of *Jude*, and the other catholic epistles." They were so called therefore in the time of *Eusebius*, and, probably, before. Of which likewise we have good proof. For St. *John's* first epistle is several times called a catholic epistle by *Origen* (c) in his remaining Greek works, as well as in others. It is likewise (d) so called several times by *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and later Greek writers received seven epistles,

(a) Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἰάκωβον, ἧ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται. *H. E. l. 2. c. 23. p. 66. D.*

(b) μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθὼν τὴν ἰδέα λέγων, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. *Ib. l. 6. cap. 14. in.*

(c) See of this work Vol. iii. p. 268.

(d) Ἡ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον, καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. *Ap. Euseb. l. 7. cap. 25. p. 273. D. Vid. ib. p. 274. B. And in this Work. Vol. iv. p. 672. 673.*

epistles, which they called catholic. I only observe here farther, that they are so called likewise by (e) *Jerome*.

They are called catholic, or universal, or general, because they are not writ to the believers of some one city, or countrey, or to particular persons, as *St. Paul's* epistles are, but to Christians in general, or to Christians of several (f) countreys. This is the case of five, or the greater part of them, with which the two other are joyned. Moreover, when the first epistle of *Peter*, and the first of *St. John*, were called *catholic* by the most early Christian writers, the two smaller of *St. John* were unknown, or not generally received.

The Reason of it.

II. These epistles are several times called *canonical* by (g) *Cassiodorus*, about the middle

Called also canonical.

B 2 of

(e) *Petrus . . . scripsit duas epistolas, quae catholicae nominantur. De V. I. cap. i.*

Jacobus . . . unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quae de septem catholicis est. Ib. cap. 2.

Judas, frater Domini, parvam, quae de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Ib. cap. 4.

(f) Or, as *Leontius* expresseth it, "They are called catholic, because they are not writ to one nation, as *Paul's* epistles, but in general to all." See *Vol. xi. p. 381.*

(g) *Octavus codex canonicas epistolas continet Apostolorum*

of the sixth centurie, and (*b*) by the writer of the prologue to these epistles, ascribed to *Jerome*, though not his. The reason of which appellation is not certainly known. Nor is it easie to perceive the propriety of it. *Du Pin* says: "Some (*i*) Latins have called these epistles canonical, either confounding the name with catholic, or else to denote, that they also are a part of the canon of the books of the New Testament."

By whom
received.

III. Of these epistles two only, the first of *St. Peter*, and the first of *St. John*, were universally received in the time (*k*) of *Eusebius*. However, the rest were then well known. In proof of which I shall allege one

rum . . . fed cum de reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Graeco stilo conscriptus in expositionem septem canonicarum epistolarum Domino largiente concessus est. *De Instit. Div. Lit. cap. 8.*

Vid. et *Cassiodorii Complexiones canonicarum epistolarum septem.*

(*b*) Prologus septem Epistolarum Canonicarum. *Ap. Hieron. Tom. i. p. 1667.*

(*i*) *Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. §. ix.*

(*k*) Vid. *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 3. cap. 24. et cap. 25. And see this Work. Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.*

one passage only from him. "Here (1)
 " says he, it will be proper to enumerate in
 " a summarie way the books of the New
 " Testament, which have been already men-
 " tioned. And in the first place are to be
 " ranked the four sacred Gospels. Then
 " the book of the Acts of the Apostles.
 " After that are to be reckoned the epistles
 " of *Paul*. In the next place, that called
 " the first epistle of *John*, and the first of
 " *Peter*. After these is to be placed, if it
 " be thought fit, the Revelation of *John*.
 " . . . And among the contradicted, but yet
 " well known to the most, [or approved by
 " many,] are that called the epistle of
 " *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second
 " of *Peter*, and the second and third of
 " *John*."

And in the preceding volumes of this
 Work we have observed all the seven to
 have been received by *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*,
Jerome, *Augustin*, and many other
 B 3 writers.

(1) . . . αἷς ἐξῆς τὴν φερομένην ἰωάννου πρῶτην, καὶ ὁμοίως
 τὴν πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολὴν . . . τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενων γνωρί-
 μων δ' ἐν ὅμοις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ λεγομένη ἰακώβου φέρεται, καὶ ἡ
 ἰούδα· ἥ τε πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολή, καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα
 καὶ τρίτη ἰωάννου. H. E. l. 3. c. 25. in. See also in this Work.
 Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.

writers. But the *Syrian* churches received (*m*) three only of these epistles. Nor does it appear, that more were received by (*n*) *Cbrysfostom*, or (*o*) *Theodoret*. And *Amphilochius*, in his Iambic Poem, says: "Of (*p*) the Catholic Epistles some receive seven, others three only." However, as we proceed, we shall particularly consider the claims of the disputed epistles, under the names of those, to whom they are ascribed.

Their Order.

IV. Before I conclude this introduction, I would take notice of the order of these epistles, because there is some variety in ancient authors. In the passage, cited from *Eusebius* at the beginning of this chapter, he says, that the epistle of *James* was the first of those called catholic. In the passage, since taken from him, where he mentions these epistles according to the degree of authority, which they had obtained, he first speaks of the first epistle of *John*, and the first

(*m*) See Vol. ix. p. 217. . . . 222. and Vol. xi. p. 5. and p. 270. . . . 274.

(*n*) Vol. x. p. 312. 313. 337. 341.

(*o*) Vol. xi. p. 88. . . . 91.

(*p*) καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τινὲς μὲν ἑπτὰ φασιν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνως. *Amphil.* p. 132. ver. 310. 311. And see Vol. ix. p. 148.

first of *Peter*. Nevertheless when he comes to those, that were contradicted, the epistle of *James* is first named. This is the order in the Festal epistle of *Athanasius*: “Seven (q) epistles of the Apostles, says he, called catholic: Of *James* one, of *Peter* two, of *John* three, and after them, of *Jude* one.” Which is our present order. The same order is observed in the catalogue of *Cyril*, of *Jerusalem*, the Council of *Laodicea*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *Jerome’s* letter to *Paulinus*, *Euthalius*, *Gelasius*, Bishop of *Rome*, the *Alexandrian Manuscript*, the *Stichometrie* of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Leontius*, *J. Damascen*. The same order is in *Bede’s* prologue to these epistles, largely transcribed by us (r) in it’s proper place. Where he assigns reasons of this order, and particularly, why the epistle of *James* was placed first. In other authors is a different order. By *Rufin* (s) they are rehearsed in this manner: “two epistles of the Apostle *Peter*, one of “*James*, the brother of the Lord, and A- “postle, one of *Jude*, three of *John*: the

B 4

“Re-

(q) See Vol. viii. p. 227.

(r) See Vol. xi. p. 387. 388.

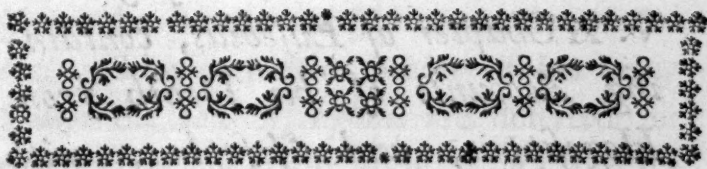
(s) Vol. x. p. 187.

"Revelation of *John*." One may be apt to think, that *St. John's* three epistles are here mentioned last, that they might not be separated from the book of the Revelation. In the canon of the third council of *Carthage*, they stand in this order: "two (*t*) epistles of the Apostle *Peter*, three of the Apostle *John*, one of the Apostle *Jude*, one of the Apostle *James*." In *Augustin's* work of the Christian Doctrine: "two (*u*) epistles of *Peter*, three of *John*, one of *Jude*, and "one of *James*." In the catalogue of Pope *Innocent*: "three (*x*) epistles of *John*, two epistles of *Peter*, an epistle of *Jude*, an epistle of *James*." In the *Commentarie* of *Cassiodorus* (*y*) upon these epistles they are in this order: "Two epistles of *Peter*, three of *John*, of *Jude* one, of *James* one."

(*t*) P. 194. (*u*) P. 211. (*x*) Vol. xi. p. 39.

(*y*) See Vol. xi. p. 311.

CHAP.



C H A P. XVI.

St. James, the Lord's Brother.

- I. *His Historie from the N. T. whereby he appears to have been an Apostle.*
- II. *His Historie from ancient Authors. A Passage from Eusebius concerning Him, with Remarks, shewing Him to be the same, as James the Son of Alpheus.*
- III. *A Passage of Eusebius, containing two Quotations from Clement of Alexandria, mentioning his Appointment to be Bishop, or residing Apostle at Jerusalem, and the Manner of his Death.*
- IV. *A Passage of Origen, speaking of our Lord's*
Bre-

Brethren, and the Death of James.

V. A Chapter of Eusebius, containing Accounts of his Death from Hegesippus, and Josephus, with Remarks. VI. The Time of his Death.

VII. How he was related to our Lord, and in what Respect he was his Brother. VIII. That he was an

Apostle, and the Son of Alpheus.

IX. Why called the Less. X. Sur-named the Just, and other Marks of Respect shewn Him. XI. A Review of what has been said.

His History from the N. T.

I.  HERE is frequent mention of James in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. If he was an Apostle, he must be James, the son of Alpheus, always distinctly named in the catalogues of the Apostles (a) in the first three Gospels, and in the first chapter of the Acts. For (b) there was

(a) Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13.

(b) Nulli dubium est, duos fuisse Apostolos Jacobi vocabulo

was but one other Apostle of this name, *James* the brother of *John*, and son of *Zebedee*. However, the proofs of his being *James* the son of *Alpheus* are deferred for the present. I begin with writing the historie of *James*, mentioned in the Acts, and *St. Paul's* epistles.

St. Paul, reckoning up the several appearances of our Lord to the disciples after his resurrection, says 1 Cor. xv. 5. . . . 8. *that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once*: meaning, I suppose, at the place in *Galilee*, where he had appointed to meet the disciples. *After that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles*: meaning, it is likely, when they were witnesses of his ascension. *And last of all he was seen of me also.*

By *James* must be here intended the same, that is mentioned by *St. Paul* elsewhere. Moreover *James*, the son of *Zebedee*, had been dead a good while before writing this epistle to the *Corinthians*, in the Year of Christ 56. It is likely, that *St. Paul* speaks of

bulo nuncupatos : Jacobum Zebedaei, et Jacobum Alphaei,
Hieron. adv. Helvid. T. 4. p. 137. fin.

of him, who was still living. And he here speaks of a particular appearance of Christ to him.

We learn from *Jerome*, that in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* there was an account of a particular appearance of our Lord to *James*, the Lord's brother, who, according to his computation, governed the church of *Jerusalem* thirty years. It is to this purpose, "*Very (c) soon after the Lord*
" was risen, he went to James, and shew-
" ed himself to him. For James had so-
" lemnly sworn, that he would eat no bread
" from the time that he had drunk the cup of
" the Lord, till he should see him risen from
" among them that sleep. It is added a little
" after. Bring, saith the Lord, a table and
" bread. And lower: He took bread, and
" blessed,

(c) Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, . . . post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert: Dominus autem, cum dedisset findonem servo Sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus, se non comesturum panem ab illa hora, quâ biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus. Rursusque post paululum. *Afferte*, ait Dominus, *mensam et panem*. Statimque additur. *Tulit panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, et post dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus. De V. l. cap. 2.*

*"blessed, and brake it, and then gave it to
"James the Just, and said to him: My
"brother, eat thy bread. For the Son of man
"is risen from among them that sleep."*

I think, this storie may be sufficient to shew, that *James*, called the Just, and the Lord's brother, was in high esteem with the Jewish believers, who used the Gospel above mentioned. But some of the circumstances of this account must needs be fabulous. Nor is there any reason to think, that *James*, or any of the Apostles, had a certain expectation of the Lord's rising from the dead. Nevertheless I shall mention a thought, to be considered by candid readers. Possibly, this account is founded upon the historie recorded in Luke xxiv. 13. . . . 35. of the two disciples, to whom the Lord appeared on the day of his resurrection, *to whom he was known in breaking of bread.* One thing more may be concluded from this passage. They who used this Gospel, thought *James*, the Lord's brother, to have been an Apostle. For here is a reference to his partaking in the eucharist, appointed by our Lord. Where none were present, beside the twelve.

However, as I have proposed a conjecture concerning the historie in Luke
xxiv.

xxiv. it ought to be observed, that the two disciples, there mentioned, were not Apostles. For at ver. 35. it is said, that when they were returned to *Jerusalem*, they found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them.

Upon that text of St. *Paul* Dr. *Doddridge* (d) mentions a conjecture, which had been communicated to him: that *James* had not seen our Lord after his resurrection, untill the time there mentioned by St. *Paul*. "That by sickness, or some other accident, *James* had been detained from meeting his brethren, both on the day of our Lord's resurrection, and that day sevensnight, and likewise at the time, when Christ appeared to the five hundred. And that he might on this respect be upon the level with them, our Lord appeared to him alone, after all the appearances mentioned before." But I take that conjecture to be without ground, as well as very improbable. St. *Paul's* words do not imply, that our Lord had not been seen by *James* before, but that this was a particular appearance to him alone, as (e) *Augustin*

(d) See the *Family-Expositor*, Vol. iv. p. 380.

(e) *Postea, inquit, apparuit Jacobo. Non tunc autem primum*

tin has observed. Who likewise adds very judiciously : " Nor did Christ now first shew himself to all the Apostles." Which agrees with *Lightfoot's* (*f*) interpretation of that text.

I have one thing more to add. It seems to me, that *James*, here spoken of, was an Apostle. And it will afford a good argument, that *James*, sometimes called by ancient Christian writers Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was an Apostle.

Gal. i. 18. 19. *Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.*

This

num accipere debemus visum esse Jacobo, sed aliqua propria manifestatione singulariter. Deinde Apostolis omnibus : nec illis tunc primum, sed jam ut familiarius conversaretur cum eis usque ad diem adscensionis suae. *Aug. de Consens. Evang. l. 3. cap. 25. num. 85. Tom. 3. P. 2.*

(*f*) " After the appearing to above five hundred brethren at once, which we suppose, and not without ground, to have been that last mentioned, the Apostle relateth, that *he was seen of James*. 1 Cor. xv. 7. *and then of all the Apostles*. Which does plainly rank this appearance to *James* between that to the five hundred brethren on the mountain in *Galilee*, and his coming to all the Apostles, when they were come again to *Jerusalem*. Which *James* this was, *Paul* is silent of, as all the Evangelists are of any such particular appearance. It is most like, he means *James the less*, of whom he speaks often elsewhere." *Harmony of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 273.*

This text seems decisive in favour of the Apostleship of *James*. *St. Luke* speaks of the same thing in this manner. *Acts. ix. 27. Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles.* Comparing these two texts together, I conclude, that *James* now resided at *Jerusalem*, and acted there as president of that church. And I imagine, that *Barnabas* first brought *Paul* to *James*, and *James* brought him to *Peter*. Thus *Paul* had communion with all the Apostles, though he saw and conversed with none of them, beside *James* and *Peter*.

When *St. Peter* had been delivered out of prison, in the reign of *Herod Agrippa*, about the time of Passover in the year 44. he came to the house of *Marie*, where many were gathered together, praying. And when he had declared unto them, how the Lord had brought him out of prison, he said: Go shew these things to *James*, and to the brethren. *Acts. xii. 12. . . . 17.* This also gives ground to think, that *James* now presided in the church of *Jerusalem*.

Before, *Acts. xi. 29. 30.* it is said: Then the disciples, at *Antioch*, determined to send relief unto the brethren, which dwelt in *Judea*. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the

the hands of Barnabas and Saul. Hence some have concluded, that *James* was not now at *Jerusalem*. But there is no reason for that supposition. For it would imply also, that none of the Apostles were at *Jerusalem*: whereas, probably, they were all there, or near it. We have proof from the next chapter, already cited, that *James* the son of *Zebedee* and *Peter* were there. For the former was beheaded, and *Peter* imprisoned at *Jerusalem* by *Herod Agrippa* about this time. And when *Peter* had been brought out of prison, he desired his friends to inform *James* of it, as we have just seen. Therefore he certainly was then at *Jerusalem*.

There are two ways of understanding that expression. By *Elders* may be meant Elders in general, not excluding the Apostles. So in the place of *Paul*, before cited: *after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.* Where the Apostles are not excluded, but included in the word *brethren*. For it is reasonable to think, that divers, yea most, if not all of the Apostles, were present at that time. So here the Apostles may be included in the general denomination of *Elders*. Or by *Elders* may be meant

such as are called Elders by way of distinction from Apostles, as in Acts. xv. 4. 22. xxi. 18. who might be persons, more especially entrusted with the receiving, and the distributing such contributions. Neither of these senses oblige us to think, that *James* was not now at *Jerusalem*.

When the controverſie about the manner of receiving the Gentils was brought before the *Apostles and Elders*, assembled in Council at *Jerusalem*; after there had been much disputing, *Peter* spoke, and then *Barnabas*, and *Paul*. After all which *James* speaks last, ſums up the argument, and propoſeth the terms, upon which the Gentils ſhould be received. To which the whole aſſembly agreed. And they ſent letters to the Gentils in ſeveral places, accordingly. Acts. xv. 1. . . . 29. It is manifeſt, I think, that *James* preſided in this Council. And it may be thence reckoned probable, that he was an Apoſtle, as well as Preſident of the church of *Jerusalem*.

Chryſoſtom, in a homilie upon the xv. chapter of the Acts, ſays: “ *James* (g) was Biſhop of *Jeru-*

(g) Επίσκοπος ἦν τῆς ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας αὐτός· δὲ ὅς τις ἐρεος λέγει. In Act. Ap. hom. 33. p. 253. T. 9.

Jerusalem, and therefore spoke last." In the same place he justly applauds the propriety of his discourse in the Council.

St. *Paul*, in the second chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians*, giving an account of some things, which happened, when he was that time at *Jerusalem*, but are not mentioned in the book of the Acts, speaks of *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, as pillars: *who also gave to him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship*. Those expressions strongly imply, that *James* was an Apostle, and presiding Apostle in the church of *Jerusalem*.

Jerome, in his book against *Helvidius*, allows, that (b) the texts, which I have already cited from the epistle to the *Galatians*, shew *James*, the Lord's brother, to have been an Apostle.

Afterwards, in the same chapter, giving an account of what happened at *Antioch*. ver. 11. 12. he says, that *when Peter was come thither, he did eat with the Gentils, before that certain came from James: but when they were come, he withdrew, and sepa-*

C 2

rated

(b) . . . et frater Domini Apostolus sit, Paulo dicente : Deinde post triennium veni *Jerusalem*, videre Petrum. Gal. i. 18. 19. Et in eadem epistola : Et cognita gratia, quae data est mihi. . . . cap. ii. 9. *Ado. Helvid. p. 138. in.*

rated himself, fearing them of the circumcision. This, I think, implies, that *James* resided at *Jerusalem*, and presided in that church, and that he was greatly respected by the Jewish believers there.

Once more, Acts. xxi. 17. 18. When *Paul* went up to *Jerusalem*, about *Pentecost*, in the year 58. *the day after* our arrival, says St. *Luke*, *Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present*, and what follows. Here is another proof, that *James* resided at *Jerusalem*, and superintended in that church. (A)

In what has been now alleged we have perceived evidences of *James* being related to our Lord, forasmuch as he is called his *brother*, and that he was much at *Jerusalem*, and presided in that church, and that, probably, he was an Apostle in the highest sense of that word. We have also seen reason to think, that he was much respected by the Jewish believers. And, though we do not allow ourselves to enlarge upon every thing,

(A) Dr. *Whitby*, in his preface to the epistle of St. *James*, has argued in a like manner that I have done, that he was an Apostle in the strict acceptation of the word. And to the same purpose also *Cave* at the beginning of his *Life of St. James the Less*, in *English*.

thing, said of him in the historie of the Council of *Jerusalem*, and his reception of *Paul*, when he went up to *Jerusalem*, and was imprisoned: yet I suppose, that every one may have discerned marks of an excellent character, and of his admirably uniting zeal and discretion, a love of truth and condescension to weak brethren. His epistle confirms that character. I think likewise, that the preservation of his life, in such a station as his, to the time, when he is mentioned last by St. *Luke*, (which we suppose to have been about the time of Pentecost, in the year of Christ, 58.) may induce us to believe, that he was careful to be inoffensive in his behaviour toward the unbelieving part of the Jewish nation, and that he was had in reverence by many of them.

II. I should now proceed to write the historie of this person from ancient authors. But that is a difficult task, as I have found, after trying more than once, and at distant spaces of time. I shall therefore take divers passages of *Eusebius*, and others, and make such reflections as offer, for finding out as much truth as we can.

*His Hi-
storie from
ancient
Authors.*

A Passage
of Euse-
bius.

Eusebius has a chapter (i) "Concerning our Saviour's disciples." Where he speaks of all these following, as said to be of the number of the Seventy: *Barnabas*, *Sosthenes*, who joyns with *Paul* in writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*, *Cephas*, whom *Paul* resisted at *Antioch*, of the same name with the Apostle *Peter*, but different from him, *Matthias*, chosen in the room of *Judas*, and he who was put up with *Matthias*, and *James*, to whom Christ shewed himself after his resurrection, as related by St. *Paul* 1 Cor. xv. 7. "He (k) likewise, says *Eusebius*, was one of those called our Saviour's disciples, and one of his brethren."

Upon this it is easie to observe, that beside the loose and inaccurate manner, in which this chapter is writ by our historian, here are, probably, several mistakes. Some things will be readily assented to, as not unlikely: that *Matthias*, and the other disciple put up with him, were of the Seventy.

(i) Περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. H. E. l. i. cap. 12. p. 30.

(k) Ἐπειτα δ' ᾤσθαι αὐτὸν ἰακώβῳ φησιν. Ἔς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν. Ib. p. 31. B.

ty. But, omitting some other things, there is no good reason to say, that *Cephas* was different from *Peter*, or that *Softhenes* was one of the Seventy. If those things are wrong, there is the less reason to rely upon that account, which places *James*, the Lord's brother, in the number only of his disciples, or of the Seventy.

However, we here seem to discern the opinion of our Ecclesiastical Historian, that *James*, the Lord's brother, so often mentioned in the Acts, and St. *Paul's* epistles, was not one of Christ's Apostles. And there we have also his interpretation of these words. 1 Cor. xv. 7. *then he was seen of all the Apostles.* By (l) which he understands others, beside the twelve. And to the like purpose (m) *Origen.* And it was formerly shewn at large in the chapter of *Eusebius*, that (n) he did not esteem this *James* an Apostle in the highest acceptation of the word. It may be observed likewise, in the large account formerly given of *Jerome's* opinion

C 4

con-

(l) 'Εἰθ' ὡς παρὰ τέτοις κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείων ὅσων ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων . . . προσίθῃσι λέγων· ἔπειτα ἔφθῃ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσι. *Ib.* p. 31.

(m) See *Vol. iii.* p. 397.

(n) *Vol. viii.* p. 152. . . . 155.

concerning this *James*, that (o) he seems not to be quite free from hesitation. Sometimes he speaks of him, as one of the twelve Apostles, and sometimes not so. We have also seen reason to think, that (p) *Cyril of Jerusalem* did not reckon *James*, called Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to have been one of the twelve Apostles. *Gregorie Nyssen* (q) likewise distinguishes *James*, the son of *Alpheus*, one of the twelve Apostles, from *James the Less*, who was not of that number. The same opinion appears in (r) the Apostolical Constitutions.

Tillemont says: "The (s) Greek Christians of our time distinguish *James* the son of *Alpheus*, one of the twelve Apostles, and *James* the Lord's brother, and Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as two different persons: so making us entirely ignorant of the historie of *James*, the son of *Alpheus*, and excluding the Lord's brother from the number of Apostles." But the opinion of the Latins, who believe, that they are one and the same person, and the Apostle, appears more conformable

(o) *Vol. x. p. 125. . . . 129.* (p) *Vol. viii. p. 273.*

(q) *De Christi Ref. Or. 2. Tom. 3. p. 413. B. C.*

(r) *See Vol. viii. p. 395.*

(s) *S. Jacques le Mineur. Art i. Tom. i.*

able to the Scripture, and is supported by the authority of *St. Paul* in particular, who gives to *James* the Lord's brother the title of Apostle in the same manner that he gives it to *Peter*. Gal. i. 19."

III. *Eusebius* has (t) another chapter, entitled, "Of things constituted by the Apostles after our Saviour's ascension." Which is to this purpose. "The first is the choice of "*Matthias*, one of Christ's disciples, into "the apostleship, in the room of *Judas*. "Then the appointment of the seven Deacons, one of whom was *Stephen*, who "soon after his being ordained was stoned "by those who had killed the Lord, and "was the first Martyr for Christ. Then "*James*, called the Lord's brother, because "he was the son of *Joseph* . . . to whom the "virgin *Marie* was espoused. This *James*, "called by the ancients the Just, on account "of his eminent virtue, is said to have been "appointed the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*. "And *Clement*, in the sixth book of his Institutions, writes after this manner: That "after our Lord's ascension, *Peter*, and "*James*,

*Another
Passage of
Eusebius.*

(t) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 1.*

“ *James*, and *John*, though they had been
 “ favored by the Lord above the rest, did
 “ not contend for honour, but chose *James*
 “ the Just to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*. And
 “ in the seventh book of the same work he
 “ says, that after his resurrection the Lord
 “ gave to *James* the Just and *John* and
 “ *Peter* the gift of knowledge. And they
 “ gave it to the other Apostles. And the
 “ other Apostles gave it to the Seventy, one
 “ of whom was *Barnabas*. For there were
 “ two named *James* : one the Just, who
 “ was thrown down from the battlement of
 “ the temple, and killed by a fuller’s staff.
 “ The other is he, who was beheaded. Of
 “ him that was called the Just *Paul* also
 “ makes mention, saying : Other of the A-
 “ postles saw I none, save *James*, the Lord’s
 “ brother.”

Upon what has been thus transcribed a
 few remarks may be properly made. In the
 former part of it *Eusebius* seems to declare
 it as his own opinion, that *James*, called the
 Lord’s brother, was the son of *Joseph*, that
 is, by a former wife,

For clearing up this passage, I would
 farther observe : I suppose, the whole of
 this quotation to be taken from *Clement*.

Some

Some may indeed at first be apt to think, that the second passage of *Clement* concludes with the word *Barnabas*. But I rather think, that all which follows in this quotation is *Clement's*, and nothing of *Eusebius*. One reason of my thinking so is, that in the 23. chapter of the same book, where our Ecclesiastical Historian gives an account of the death of *James* from *Hegesippus*, who relates, that *James* was thrown down from the temple, and killed by a fuller's staff, he twice says, that is, at (*u*) the entering upon that account, and (*x*) at finishing it, that this was agreeable to what had been before alleged from *Clement*. The other reason is, that *Eusebius* seems not to have been so clear, that there were no more than two of this name, as is implied in this passage, particularly in the conclusion of it.

Upon these two passages cited by *Eusebius* from *Clement*, one from the sixth, the other from the seventh book of his Institutions, we

(*u*) Τὸν δὲ τῆς τῆ ἱακώβε τελευτῆς τρόπον ἥδη μὲν πρότερον αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι τῷ κλήμεντος φωναὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ἀπὸ τῆ πτερυγίᾳ βεβλήσθαι, ξύλῳ τε τὴν πρὸς θάνατον πεπλήχθαι αὐτὴν ἰσορροκότος. *l. 2. cap. 23. p. 63. C.*

(*x*) Ταῦτα διὰ πλάτης συνωδὰ τῷ κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ ἡγήσιππος. *Ibid. p. 65. C.*

we are led to observe, *first*, that *James* called the Just, is here supposed to be an Apostle. Nor did *Clement* know of any more of the name *James*, in the New Testament, beside *James* the son of *Zebedee*, and him called *James* the Just. *Secondly*, I observe, that *James*, called the Just, is supposed to have been appointed Bishop of *Jerusalem*, by three Apostles especially, *Peter*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and not by our Lord. And the order and coherence of things in this chapter of *Eusebius* seems to imply, that this was done soon after the martyrdom of *Stephen*.

Which appears to me agreeable to the historie in the Acts, and the passages alleged thence at the begining of this chapter. *Peter* always speaks first, as president among the Apostles, untill after the choice of the seven Deacons. Every thing said of St. *James* after that implies his presiding in the church of *Jerusalem*. And when St. *Paul* mentions the three chiefs, who were pillars, Gal. ii. 9. with whom he conferred at *Jerusalem*, he names *James* first. The reason of his doing so, I take to be, that *James* then presided in the church of *Jerusalem*.

Tillemont (y) thinks, "That Christ himself may have appointed *James* to be Bishop in that church: but the Apostles deferred the declaring it solemnly, till the time of the persecution, which broke out after the death of St. *Stephen*. Then they thought of providing more particularly for the church of *Jerusalem*, whence, perhaps, they feared they should be constrained to remove. This obliged them to appoint a proper Pastour, who should be obliged to stay there till his death, and should charge himself with every thing necessarie for their welfare."

To me it appears evident, that (z) the Apostles did not now leave *Jerusalem*, nor till a good while afterwards. But they were obliged to live privately. And the circumstances of things made it prudent to appoint one of their number, who should preside in that church, and act in their name. Though they could not all appear in public, it was fit, there should be one at least, to whom the faithful might apply at any time, in case of need. This choice, or appointment, is ascribed by *Clement* to three of the Apostles.

(y) *St. Jacques le Mineur. Art. iv. mem. Tom. i.*

(z) See *Acts. viii. 1.*

Apostles. But it might be done with the consent and approbation of all.

As this episcopate, or superintendence of *James* has been thus mentioned, I shall here observe what notice is taken of it by other ancient Christian writers.

Eusebius, in one place, says, that (a) *James* was appointed Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles : in another by (b) Christ and the Apostles. So likewise in the (c) Apostolical Constitutions. *Jerome* in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers says, “ that (d) *James*, surnamed the Just, was ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles soon after the Lord’s passion.” In his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Galatians* he speaks as (e) if the Lord himself had given him

(a) . . . ὡς πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχεῖχερτο θρόνος. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. in. Vid. et l. 2. cap. 1. in p. 38. B.*

(b) Τὸν γὰρ ἰακώβου θρόνον τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς τὴν σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδείξαμεν. *κ. λ. l. 7. c. 19.*

(c) *Constit. l. 8. cap. 35.*

(d) *Jacobus*, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus . . . post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus. *De V. I. cap. 2.*

(e) Nunc hoc sufficiat, ut propter egregios mores, et incomparabilem fidem, sapientiamque non mediam, frater dictus

him this high trust : meaning, perhaps, no more, than that Christ gave it him by the Apostles : or that they in so doing had acted by divine inspiration. *Epiphanius* (f) ascribes this appointment to our Saviour himself, as do (g) *Cbrysoſtom*, and (h) *Oecumenius*, and (i) *Photius*. The Latin author of a Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul's* Epistles, says, *James* (k) was appointed Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles. *Nicephorus's* account is, that (l) he was so appointed by our Saviour, or, as some said, by the Apostles also. I shall cite no more writers relating to this point, but proceed.

IV. I would now take a passage of *Origen* from the tenth tome of his Commentaries

A Passage of Origen concerning his Death.

dictus sit Domini: et quod primus ei ecclesiae praefuerit, quae prima in Christum credens ex Judaeis fuerat congregata. Dicuntur quidem et ceteri Apostoli fratres Domini. Sed praecipue hic frater dicitur, cui filios matris suae ad Patrem vadens Dominus commendaverat. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. ii. 19.*

(f) *Haer. 78. num. vii.*

(g) *Cbr. in ep. 1. ad Cor. hom. 38. p. 355. Tom. x.*

(h) *Oec. ad Act. xv. 13. T. i. p. 122.*

(i) *Phot. Ep. 117.*

(k) *Jacobum vidit Hierosolymae, quia illic erat constitutus ab Apostolis Episcopus. In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. 19.*

(l) *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 38.*

ries upon St. *Matthew*, where he discourseth upon Matt. xiii. 55. . . 56. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Marie? And his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us?* "They (m) thought, " says *Origen*, that he was the son of *Joseph* " and *Marie*. The brethren of *Jesus*, some " say upon the ground of tradition, particularly what is said in the Gospel according " to *Peter*, or the book of *James*, were the " sons of *Joseph* by a former wife, who cohabited with him before *Marie*. They " who say this, are desirous to maintain the " honour of *Marie's* virginity to the last : " [or her perpetual virginity:] that the body " chosen to fulfill what is said: *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.* Luke i. " 35. might not know man after that. And " I think it very reasonable, that as *Jesus* " was the first-fruits of virginity among " men, *Marie* should be the same among " women. For it would be very improper " to give that honour to any, beside her.

This

(m) *Origen. in Matt. T. x. p. 462. 463. T. 3. Bened. P. 223. Tom. i. Huet.*

" This *James* is he, whom *Paul* mentions
 " in his epistle to the *Galatians*, saying :
 " *Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James,*
 " *the Lord's brother.* This *James* was in so
 " great repute with the people for his vir-
 " tue, that *Josephus*, who wrote twenty
 " books of the Jewish Antiquities, desirous
 " to assign the reason of their suffering such
 " things, so that even the temple was de-
 " stroyed, says, that (*n*) those things were
 " owing to the anger of God for what they
 " did to *James* the brother of *Jesus*, called
 " *Christ*. And it is wonderfull, that he
 " who did not believe our *Jesus* to be the
 " *Christ*, should bear such a testimonie to
 " *James*. He also says, that the people
 " thought they suffered those things upon
 " account of *James*. *Jude* wrote an epistle,
 " of few lines indeed, but filled with the
 " powerful words of the heavenly grace, who
 " says

(*n*) ἐρηνέναι, κατὰ μῆνιν θεῶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπνυτη-
 κέναι, διὰ τὰ εἰς ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἰησοῦ τῷ λεγομένῳ
 χριστῷ, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τετολμημένα. Καὶ τὸ θαύμασόν ἐστιν, ὅτι
 τὸν ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν ἔ καταδεξάμενος εἶναι χριστὸν, εἰδὲ ἥττοῦ
 ἰακώβῳ δικαιοσύνην ἐμάρτύρησε τοσαύτην. Λέγει δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ
 λαὸς ταῦτα ἐνόμιζε διὰ τὸν ἰάκωβον πεπονθέναι . . . Περὶ δὲ
 ἰωσήφ, καὶ σίμωνος εἰδὲν ἰσότησάμεν. *Ib.* p. 463. *Bened.* p.
 223. *Huet.*

“says at the begining: *Jude, a servant of*
“Jesus Christ, and brother of James. Of
“Joses and Simon we know nothing.”

Origen, in (o) his books against *Celsus*, quotes *Josephus* again, as speaking of *James* to the like purpose. But there are not now any such passages in *Josephus*: though they are quoted, as from him, by (p) *Eusebius* also. But he does not say, whether from his *Jewish War*, or from his *Antiquities*, or in what book of either, as he sometimes does, when he quotes *Josephus*. *Jerome* has twice quoted *Josephus* for these things: first in his (q) article of *St. James*, and then in that (r) of *Josephus* himself: but not much more expressly, than *Eusebius*.

Upon the long passage of *Origen*, just transcribed, I would observe, as follows.

It is strange, that *Origen* should take such particular notice of the epistle of *St. Jude*, and say nothing of the epistle of
James

(o) *Contra Cels. l. i. p. 35 et l. 2. p. 69. Cantab. l. i. cap. 47. et l. 2. cap. 13. Bened.*

(p) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 65. C. D.*

(q) *Tradit idem Josephus, tantae eum sanctitatis fuisse, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, subversam esse Hierosolymam. Hier. De Vir. Ill. cap. 2.*

(r) *Hic confitetur . . . et propter interfectionem Jacobi Apostoli dirutam Hierosolymam. Ib. cap. 13.*

James, whose historie he was writing, when it was not unknown to him. It may be suspected, that a paragraph has been lost, and dropt out of the Commentarie in this place. It is also strange, that he should say, he knew nothing of *Simon*: when it is probable, that he likewise was one of Christ's Apostles, called *Simon the Canaanite* by Matthew ch. x. 4. and Mark iii. 18. *Simon Zelotes* by Luke vi. 13. and Acts. i. 13.

From what *Origen* says of the death of *James* it may be concluded, that in his time Christians were persuaded, that *James* had died a Martyr for Christ, and had been killed by the Jews, notwithstanding his eminent virtue. Though the passages, to which *Origen* refers, are not now in *Josephus*, and though it should be supposed, that there was some inaccuracy in *Origen's* quotations of him, or references to him; I think, it must be allowed, that Christians had in his time a tradition concerning the death of *James*, and that it happened in circumstances very dishonorable to those who were the authors of it: insomuch that many were disposed to think, it was one of those things, for which God was much offended with the Jewish people. Moreover we have already

observed a brief account of the death, or martyrdom of *James* in *Clement*, older than *Origen*, though in part contemporarie with him.

All farther notice of that passage of *Origen* is deferred, till we come to consider, how *James* was related to our Lord.

*Accounts
of his
Death from
Hegesippus,
and Jose-
phus.*

V. As the death of *James* has been mentioned, I shall now immediatly take the accounts of it, which are in *Eusebius*. And I will transcribe a large part of the 23. chapter of the second book of his Ecclesiastical Historie.

“ But when *Paul* had appealed to *Cesar*,
“ and *Festus* had sent him to *Rome*, the Jews
“ being disappointed in their design against
“ him, turned their rage against *James* the
“ Lord’s brother, to whom the Apostles
“ had assigned the episcopal chair of *Jerusa-*
“ *lem*. And in this manner they proceeded
“ against him. Having laid hold of him,
“ they required him in the presence of all
“ the people to renounce his faith in Christ.
“ But he with freedom and boldness be-
“ yond expectation, before all the multitude,
“ declared our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ
“ to be the Son of God. They not en-
“ during

“ during the testimonie of a man, who was
 “ in high esteem for his piety, laid hold of
 “ the opportunity, when the countrey was
 “ without a Governour, to put him to death.
 “ For *Festus* having died about that time in
 “ *Judea*, the province had in it no Procura-
 “ tor. The manner of the death of *James*
 “ was shewn before in the words of *Clement*,
 “ who said, that he was thrown off from
 “ the battlement of the temple, and then
 “ beat to death with a club. But no one
 “ has so accurately related this transaction,
 “ as *Hegeſippus*, a man in the first succeſ-
 “ ſion of the Apoſtles, in the fifth book of
 “ his Commentaries, whose words are to
 “ this purpose: “ *James, (s)* the brother of
 “ our Lord, undertook together with the
 “ Apoſtles the government of the church.
 “ He has been called The Juſt by all from
 “ the time of our Saviour to ours. For
 “ many have been named *James*. But he
 “ was holie from his mother's womb. He
 “ drank neither wine, nor ſtrong drink, nor
 “ did he eat any animal food. There never
 “ came raſour upon his head. He neither
 D 3 “ anointed

(s) Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ
 ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἰακώβου. κ. λ. p. 63. C. D.

“ anointed himself with oyl, nor did he use
 “ a bath. To him alone was it lawfull to
 “ enter the holie place. He wore no wool-
 “ len, but only linen garments. He enter-
 “ ed into the temple alone, where he prayed
 “ upon his knees. Insomuch that his knees
 “ were become like the knees of a camel,
 “ by means of his being continually upon
 “ them, worshiping God, and praying for
 “ the forgivenesse of the people. Upon ac-
 “ count of his virtue he was called the Just,
 “ and *Oblias*, that is, the defense of the
 “ people, and righteousnesse. Some there-
 “ fore of the seven sects, which there were
 “ among the Jews, of whom I spake in the
 “ former part of these Commentaries, asked
 “ him, (B) which is the gate of Jesus: or,
 “ what

(B) . . . ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτῷ, τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ ἰησοῦ; καὶ ἔλεγε
 αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα. *Le Clerc*, in his observations upon
 this passage of *Hegesippus*, says, he does not understand those
 words, *what is the gate of Jesus*. And, perhaps, the place
 has been corrupted. Τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ ἰησοῦ; Quod quid sibi
 yelit, non intelligo. Sed forte locus est corruptus. *H. E.*
p. 416. Ann. lxii. Mr. *Mossheim* thinks, with great proba-
 bility, that the question put to *James* was: “What is the
 gate, or way of salvation? Tell us, how we may obtain
 eternal life.” *James* answered: “The gate of salvation is
 our Saviour Jesus Christ.” Vitium vero ejus non in vocabu-
 lo θύρα, sed potius in nomine ἰησοῦ quaeri debere censeo. Ju-
 daei,

“ what is the gate of salvation. And he
 “ said: Jesus is the Saviour, or the way of
 “ salvation. Some of them therefore be-
 “ lieved, that Jesus is the Christ. . . . And
 “ many of the chief men also believing, there
 “ was a disturbance among the Jews, and
 “ among the Scribes and Pharisees, who
 “ said, there was danger, least all the peo-
 “ ple should think Jesus to be the Christ.
 “ Coming therefore to *James*, they said:
 “ We beseech thee to restrain the error of
 “ the people. We entreat thee to persuade
 “ all that come hither at the time of Pass-
 “ over to think rightly concerning Jesus.
 “ For all the people, and all of us put con-
 “ fidence in thee. . . . Stand therefore upon
 D 4 “ the

daei, quod manifestum est, sciscitantur sententiam Jacobi de
 via seu de ostio salutis, id est, de vera ratione ad salutem
 aeternam perveniendi. Nullus ergo dubito, quin patrio ser-
 mone, quo utebantur, vocabulum *Jeschuah* adhibuerint, at-
 que ex Jacobo quaesiverint: Dic, rogamus, nobis, quod-
 nam tibi videatur esse salutis ostium. . . . Graecus quaestionis
 hujus interpres vero, aut sermonis non nimis gnarus, aut
 minus attentus, nomen proprium Servatoris nostri, *Jesus*, cer-
 nere se putabat, et perperam idcirco, quum σωτηρία ponen-
 dum ipse fuisset: Τίς ἢ θύρα τῆς σωτηρίας; vocabulum ἰησοῦ
 scribebat: Τίς ἢ θύρα ἰησοῦ; Ita si Judaeorum quaestio intel-
 ligatur, nihil fieri aptius potest responsione Jacobi: *Ostium sa-*
lutis est Servator noster, Jesus Christus. Moshem. De Reb. Chris-
tianor. ante Constantin. Sec. prim. num. 23. p. 95.

“ the battlement of the temple, that being
“ placed on high, thou mayest be conspicu-
“ ous, and thy words may be easily heard
“ by all the people. For because of the
“ Passover, all the tribes be come hither,
“ and many Gentils. Therefore the Scribes
“ and Pharisees, before named, placed *James*
“ upon the battlement of the temple, and
“ cried out to him, and said: O Justus,
“ whom we ought all to believe, since the
“ people are in an errour, following Jesus
“ who was crucified, tell us (c) what is the
“ gate of Jesus. And he answered with a
“ loud voice: Why do you ask me concern-
“ ing the Son of Man? He even sitteth in
“ the heaven, at the right hand of the great
“ power, and will come in the clouds of
“ heaven. And many were fully satisfied,
“ and well pleased with the testimonie of
“ *James*, saying, Hosanna to the Son of
“ David. But the same Scribes and Pharisees
“ said to one another: We have done wrong
“ in procuring such a testimonie to Jesus.
“ Let us go up, and throw him down, that
“ the people may be terrified from giving
“ credit to him. . . . And they went up pre-
“ sently,

(c) See before, note (v) p. 38.

"sently, and cast him down, and said:
 "Let us stone *James* the Just. And they
 "began to stone him, because he was not
 "killed with the fall. But he turning him-
 "self kneeled, saying: I entreat thee, O
 "Lord God the Father, forgive them. For
 "they know not what they do. As they
 "were stoning him, one said: Give over.
 "What do ye? The just man prays for
 "you. And (t) one of them, a fuller,
 "took a pole, which was used to beat
 "cloths with, and struck him on the head.
 "Thus his martyrdom was compleated.
 "And they buried him in that place, and
 "his monument still remains near the tem-
 "ple. This *James* was a true witnesse to
 "Jews and Gentils, that Jesus is the Christ.
 "And soon after *Judea* was invaded by
 "*Vespasian*, and the people were carried
 "captive." ' So writes *Hegesippus* at large,
 ' agreeably to *Clement*. For certain, *James*
 ' was an excellent man, and much esteemed
 ' by many for his virtue: insomuch that the
 ' most thoughtful men among the Jews were
 ' of

(t) Καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἕξ τῶν γναφίων τὸ ξύλον ἐν
 ᾧ ἀπεπίεζε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου.
 ib. p. 65. B.

' of opinion, that his death was the cause of
 ' the siege of *Jerusalem*, which followed
 ' soon after his martyrdom: and that it was
 ' owing to nothing else, but the wicked-
 ' nesse committed against him. And (*u*)
 ' *Josephus* says the same in these words:
 " These things befell the Jews in vindication
 " of *James* the Just, who was brother of
 " *Jesus*, called the Christ. For the Jews
 " killed him, who was a most righteous
 " man." ' The same historian, in the twen-
 ' tieth book of his *Antiquities*, relates his
 ' death in this manner.' " The Emperour
 " being informed of the death of *Festus*, sent
 " *Albinus* to be Prefect in *Judea*. But the
 " younger *Ananus*, who, as we said before,
 " was made High-Priest, was haughty in
 " his behaviour, and very enterprizing.
 " And moreover he was of the sect of the
 " Sadducees, who, as we have also observed
 " before, are above all other Jews severe in
 " their judicial sentences. This then being
 " the temper of *Ananus*, he thinking he had
 " a fit

(*u*) 'Ο γέν ἰώσηπος ἐκ ἀπάκνησε καὶ τῆτ' ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρ-
 τύρεσθαι, δι' ᾧ φησι λέξεων. Ταῦτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν ἰουδαίοις,
 κατ' ἐκδίκησιν ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγο-
 μένου χριστοῦ ἐπειδήπερ δικαιοτάτου αὐτὸν ὄντα οἱ ἰουδαῖοι
 ἀπέκτεναν. *Ib.* p. 65. D.

“ a fit opportunity, because *Festus* was dead,
“ and *Albinus* was yet upon the road, calls
“ a Council. And bringing before them
“ *James*, the brother of him who is called
“ Christ, and some others, he accused
“ them as transgressors of the laws, and had
“ them stoned to death. But the most mo-
“ derate men of the city, who also were
“ reckoned most skilfull in the laws, were
“ offended at this proceeding. They there-
“ fore sent privately to the King, [*Agrippa*
“ the Younger,] entreating him to send or-
“ ders to *Ananus*, no more to attempt any
“ such things. And some went away to
“ meet *Albinus*, who was coming from *A-*
“ *lexandria*, and put him in mind, that *A-*
“ *nanus* had no right to call a Council with-
“ out his leave. *Albinus* approving of what
“ they said, wrote a very angrie letter to *A-*
“ *nanus*, threatening to punish him for what
“ he had done. And King *Agrippa* took
“ away from him the priesthood, after he
“ had enjoyed it three months, and put in
“ Jesus, the son of *Damnaeus*.” ‘These
‘ are the things which are related of *James*,
‘ whose is the first of the epistles called ca-
‘ tholic.’

Thus

Thus I have given a literal version of almost the whole of this chapter, being desirous, that my readers should see the accounts, which ancient writers have given of *James*: though they are not altogether so credible, nor so entertaining, as might have been wished. Nor do they any where lie in better order than here. And therefore I have chosen this chapter. The same things are transcribed by *Jerome* from *Eusebius* in his chapter of *James* the Just, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: but very inaccurately, blending together *Hegeſippus*, and *Clement*, and *Josephus*: so that, without comparing *Eusebius*, it could not be known what belongs to one, and what to the other. For which, I think, he deserves to be censured. Nor could I pass it by without notice, as an use may be made of it. For it may induce us to suspect, that to such carelessness and inaccuracy of quotation we owe those passages of *Josephus*, in which he is said to have assigned the death of *James*, as the sole cause of the ruin of the Jewish People.

And now I proceed to make some remarks upon the chapter of *Eusebius*, and the passages therein quoted by him.

1. In the first place, it appears from *Eusebe's* introduction, at the begining of the chapter, that he supposed the martyrdom of St. *James* to have happened at a time, when there was no Roman Governour in *Judea*, after the death of *Festus*, and before the arrival of *Albinus* in the province. What reason he had for this, we do not certainly know. We do not observe any notice of that circumstance in what he has transcribed from *Hegesippus*. It is indeed expressly said in the passage of *Josephus*. But if that passage be the only foundation for the opinion, it's authority may be questioned. For divers learned men have suspected the genuinnesse of that part of the passage, which speaks of the death of *James*. As will be shewn more particularly by and by.

2. Upon the first quotation, which is from *Hegesippus*, it is easie for any one to observe, that (x) there are in it many things very
un-

(x) Et Jacobus Justus, ecclesiae Hierosolymitanae antistes, quem misere trucidarunt. Quod ipse Josephus paucis, copiosius Hegesippus apud Eusebium memoriae prodidit: quamquam in narratione hujus multa sunt, quibus nemo, nisi rerum veterum, et Christianarum et Judaicarum, prorsus ignarus, fidem habeat. *Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. Sec. i. §. xxiii. p. 93.*

unlikely : as (y) that *James* should live in the manner here represented, and particularly, that he should eat no animal food : that he had a right to enter into the holie place, when he pleased, whether thereby be understood the Holie of Holies, or only the temple : that the Scribes and Pharisees should place him on a pinnacle, or battlement of the temple, to deliver his opinion to the people concerning *Jesus* : that they should throw him down thence, and kill him in the temple, or any of the courts of it : that they should bury him near the place, in which he is here said to have been killed : when the Jews, and all other people in those times, usually buried their dead without the walls of their cities : and, finally,

(y) *Hic ab utero matris sanctus fuit : nazireatus, nempe, voto Deo consecratus, ut sequentia ostendunt. Nec fieri hoc potuisse negârim. Nec vinum unquam bibit, nec siceram. Ita debuit, si Naziræus fuit. Ab animantium carnibus abstinuit. Hoc vero Pythagoricum et superstitiosum fuit institutum, de quo nihil in Mosaica Lege, et cujus reum fuisse Jacobum, etiam postquam Christianus factus est, vix credibile fit. Comam nunquam totondit. Recte, atque ordine. Sic enim Lex jubet. Num. vi. 3. 5. Neque ungi, neque lavare balneo corpus unquam solitus. Non tantum præter, sed et contra Legem hoc fuit, quâ multae ablutiones Judæis impositae. Nec certe sordes quaesitae quidquam ad sanctitatem faciunt. Cleric. Hist. Ec. Ann. lxii. not. (2). p. 415.*

nally, that he should have a monument, or pillar, over him, near the place where he was buried, which remained to the time of *Hegeſippus*, after the war was over, and the city of *Jerusalem* and the temple had been overthrown. Concerning which last particular *Jerome*, in the Catalogue above mentioned, ſays : “ He (z) was buried near the
 “ temple, where he had been thrown down.
 “ He had a conspicuous monument, till the
 “ ſiege of *Titus*, and that ſince by *Adrian*.
 “ Some of our people have thought, that he
 “ was buried on mount *Olivet*. But that
 “ is a miſtaken opinion.” So that even in *Judea* there were different opinions concerning the place, where *James* was buried. Nevertheless I preſume, all were perſuaded, that he had ſuffered martyrdom from the Jews at *Jerusalem*. There was no different ſentiment about that.

However, this difference of opinion concerning the place, where St. *James* was buried, deſerves our notice. For it may
 lead

(z) . . . et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, ſepultus eſt. Titulum uſque ad obſidionem Titi, et ultimam Hadriani notiſſimum habuit. Quidam e noſtris in monte Oliveti eum putaverunt conditum, ſed falſa eorum opinio eſt.
De V. I. cap. 2.

lead us to suspect some mistake in the account of *Hegesippus*. Possibly, St. James was buried in mount *Olivet*: though there was a pillar erected near the place, where he was killed. I think this may be of use to remove some difficulties in the account of *Hegesippus*. The pillar, which he saw, might be erected after the siege of *Jerusalem*, by some, who remembered the place, where St. James had been killed. And some from that monument might conclude, he had been buried there, though really he was not.

I have made some remarks upon the passage of *Hegesippus*. A fuller critique may be seen in other (a) writers: partly aggravating the improbabilities of this account, partly softening them, and striving to remove difficulties. Accordingly *Petavius* says, "that (b) though there are in it several

(a) Vid. Joseph. Scaliger. *Animadvers.* in Euseb. Chron. p. 193. 194. J. Cleric. *Hist. Ec. A. D. lxii.* Petav. *Animadvers.* ad Epiph. Haer. lxxviii. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. et Tillemont S. Jacque le Mineur. *Mem. Ec. Tom. i. Basnag. Ann. 33. num. 184. &c.*

(b) Nec diffiteor nonnulla vel ab Hegesippo prodita, vel ab aliis inserta, quae parum probabilia videantur. Sed totam ipsam historiam nego propterea damnandam esse. Petav. *Animadv.* ad Epiph. H. 78. n. iii. p. 332.

ral things very unlikely, yet the whole historie ought not therefore to be rejected." To whom I am not unwilling to accede. But as I have not room to enlarge upon particulars, for shewing the reasonableness of that judgement; I must be content with recommending a careful and impartial attention to the observations of the writers, to whom I have referred. However, I may by and by have an opportunity to mention a few thoughts, beside what I have already said, for removing difficulties, and answering objections.

3. *Eusebius* says, "that many thoughtful men among the Jews were of opinion, that the death of *James* was the cause of the siege of *Jerusalem*, and that it was owing to nothing else but the wickedness committed against him, and that *Josephus* says the same."

Origen speaks to the like purpose, as we have seen. But not quite so strongly. The same is said by *Jerome* more than once. I mean in (c) his book of *Illustrious Men*,
and

(c) Tradit enim *Josephus*, tantae eum sanctitatis fuisse et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, sub versam Hierosolymam. *De V. I. cap. 2. Vid. et cap.*

13.

and (*d*) also elsewhere. But neither he, nor *Eusebius* expressly say, in what place of *Josephus*. Which may make us think, that they borrowed this from *Origen*. Nor does *Origen* inform us, in what Work of *Josephus* those things were said, though he has mentioned them several times. Which may dispose us to think, that they were nowhere expressly in *Josephus*.

4. *Eusebius* proceeds, and says, that in the xx. book of his Antiquities *Josephus* had related the death of *James* in a passage, which he there transcribes. Which passage is still in the works of *Josephus*. And what is there said, may be very true, for the most part: "that (*e*) *Ananus* the younger, being High-Priest,

(*d*) *Transeamus ad Jacobum, qui frater Domini dicebatur, tantae sanctitatis, tantaeque iustitiae, et perpetuae virginitatis, ut Josephus quoque historicus Judaeorum propter hujus necem Jerosolymam subversam referat. Hic primus Episcopus ex Judaeis Jerosolymae credentis ecclesiae. Adv. Jovin. l. 1. T. 4. P. 2. p. 182. in.*

(*e*) Facile quidem crediderim Jerosolymitanos proceres graviter tulisse, quod synedrium suâ auctoritate instituisset, cum dudum jus gladii a Romanis Judaeis esset ereptum: quod iterum inconsulto Caesare ab Anano usurpatum timebant, ne genti suae gravi fortasse poena luendum esset. Sed quae de *Jacobo, Jesu, qui Christus dicebatur, fratre*, habentur, merum adfumentum male feriat Christiani esse videntur, Qua

Priest, and a man of an haughty and enterprising temper, when there was no Roman Governour in *Judea*, convened a Council, and had some stoned to death, as transgressors of the laws : and that many of the most discreet and moderate men among the Jews were offended at this proceeding : forasmuch as whilst *Judea* was in the state of a province, the High-Priest had no right to call the Council together, without leave, and they feared, that this action would be resented by the Emperour." All this, I say, is very likely. Nevertheless those words, *James, the brother of him, who is called Christ*, have been suspected to be an interpolation. And, probably, (f) are so. Supposing (g) those words to be an interpolation, we can gather no more from that passage, than that *Ananus* did illegally condemn several persons to death, as transgressors of the Jewish laws. But who they were, or whether any

E 2

of

Qua de re alibi diximus. Cleric. ubi supr. §. ii. p. 415. Conf. ejusd. Ars Crit. Part. 3. sect. i. cap. 14. num. xi.

(f) See the *Credibility*. &c. Part. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xi. p. 163. . . . 165. the third edition. See here likewise note (e). p. 50.

(g) See Dr. Benson's *History of St. James*. Sect. ii. p. 12. the second edition.

of them were Christians, or not, cannot be determined with certainty.

5. *Eusebius* supposeth, that this passage of *Josephus* confirms the account given by *Hegesippus*: whereas (*b*) it appears, on the other hand, very difficult to reconcile them. I do not perceive *Hegesippus* to say any thing of *Ananus*, the High-Priest. Nor has he expressly mentioned the Sadducees, of which sect *Ananus* was. Nor does *Hegesippus* say a word of the Council of the Jews. And as the punishment of stoning, when ordered by magistrates, was generally inflicted on men out of the city; it is probable, that they
who

(*b*) Quid magis contrarium esse potest, quam haec *Josephi*, et illa *Hegesippi* narratio? Nam *Josephus* quidem damnatum esse scribit in publico *Judaeorum* concilio: *Hegesippus* vero, per seditionem ac tumultum populi occisum. Et *Hegesippus* quidem fuste fullonis necatum in media urbe. *Josephus* autem lapidatum occubuisse narrat. Fiebat autem lapidatio extra portas civitatis, ut notum est. *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 41.*

Secundo, qui fidem habent narrationi *Hegesippi*, eos oportet, aut *Josephum* falsi arguere, aut suspectum habere hunc locum, quo res publice *Jerosolymae* gesta, adeoque notissima, aliter narratur: ut mirari subeat, ab *Eusebio* *Josephi* et *Hegesippi* verba allata, eodem capite, nec eum tentasse ea in concordiam redigere, aut alterutrius narrationis fidem in dubium non revocasse. *Cleric. Ars Crit. P. 3. sect. i. n. xii.*

who were put to death by the procurement of *Ananus*, suffered without *Jerusalem*. But according to *Hegesippus*, *James* died at the temple, or near it, and was buried not far off from the place, where he had expired.

6. Since what is said of *James* in the passage of *Josephus*, is justly suspected to be an interpolation, it ought not to be regarded. Learned men of late times find (*i*) it very difficult to determine, how *James* died. But that difficulty, as seems to me, is much increased by paying too much regard to a passage, the genuineness of which is far from being certain. *Josephus*, indeed, is an older author than *Hegesippus*, and he is an historian of good credit. But we should be first assured, that the account is his. If a passage, or part of a passage, has been inserted in his works, and there is good reason to think it not his; it should be disregarded, and stand for nothing.

If we once set aside that passage, we may soon come to a determination concerning the

E 3

manner

(*i*) Potest tamen fieri, ut Jacobus hoc tempore mortuus sit. Sed genus mortis ignotum. *Cleric. H. E. Ann. lxii. num. iii. in.*

manner of *James's* death. That *James* had suffered martyrdom at *Jerusalem*, was the general persuasion of Christians in the time of *Eusebius*, and before, as we plainly perceive. Two ancient Christian writers of the second centurie assure us, that his death was compleated by the blow of a fuller's pole, with which they are wont to beat wet cloths. And *Hegesippus*, in particular, and at large, relates, that his death was effected in a tumultuous manner. The tumult began at the temple. Where the Scribes and Pharisees, and other Jews, entered into discourse with *James*. He standing upon some eminence, which *Hegesippus* calls *πτερύγιον*, and we now generally render a battlement, or pinnacle, openly declared, and argued, that Jesus was the Christ, or the expected Messiah, and that his doctrine contained full instruction, how men may be saved, and obtain eternal life. At which some leading men among the Jews were much offended, They then laid hold of him, and perhaps dragged him out of the temple. Some of the people threw stones at him. And though he earnestly prayed to God in the behalf of those who abused him, they persisted in their abuses,

buses, till one struck him with a long pole, which put an end to his life.

St. *John* has recorded two instances of the Jews taking up stones to throw at our Lord, when he was teaching in the temple. Ch. viii. 59. and ch. x. 31. . . . 46. The first is in these words: *Then took they up stones to cast at him. But Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by. They took up stones to cast at him.* And if our Lord had not saved himself by a miraculous exertion of power, they would have then killed him. Divine Providence not interposing in a like manner, when a like attempt was made upon *James*, he fell a sacrifice to the rage of the unbelieving part of the Jewish people at *Jerusalem*.

Nor ought it to be thought exceeding strange, or absolutely unaccountable, that some Scribes and Pharisees, or other Jews, should gather about *James* at the temple, and ask his opinion concerning *Jesus*, though they knew it very well already: or that they should come to him with pretences of great respect, and assurances of paying a regard to his judgement. For many like things are recorded in the Gospels. Which every one

is able to recollect. I shall therefore take particular notice only of that second instance, mentioned by St. *John*, of their taking up stones to throw at our Lord. *John* x. 22. . . . 31. *And it was at Jerusalem, the feast of the Dedication . . . And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him: How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them: I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me. . . . Then the Jews took up stones again to stone him. They came to Jesus, and desired an answer to a question, that had been answered before. But they pretend now to desire, it should be answered in the plainest and fullest manner. Nevertheless they could not hear the answer with patience.*

I said just now, that two ancient writers of the second centurie, *Clement* and *Hegeſippus*, assure us, that the death of *James* had been compleated by a fuller's pole, after he had been thrown off from the temple. I suppose this must have been the opinion also of *Eusebius*, who has taken notice of these things, and of other ancient Christians. It

is the account, which (*k*) *Jerome* gives of the death of *James*, in his article, in the book of *Illustrious Men*, and likewise (*l*) elsewhere. The same is said by (*m*) *Epi-phanius*.

Let this suffice for the circumstances, and the manner of the death of *James*.

VI. The time of the death of *James* may be determined without much difficulty. He was alive, when *Paul* came to *Jerusalem* at the Pentecost in the year of Christ 58. And it is likely, that he was dead, when *St. Paul* wrote the epistle to the *Hebrews*, at the beginning of the year 63. *Theodoret* (*n*) upon *Hebr. xiii. 7.* supposeth the Apostle there to refer to the martyrdoms of *Stephen*, *James*, the brother of *John*, and *James* the Just.

The Time
of his
Death.

Ac-

(*k*) Qui cum praecipitatus de pinna templi, confractis cruribus, adhuc semivivus . . . fullonis fuste, quo uda vestimenta extorqueri solent, in cerebro percussus interiit. *De V. I. cap. 2.*

(*l*) Hic autem Jacobus Episcopus Jerosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus : . . . Qui et ipse postea de templo a Judaeis praecipitatus, successorem habuit Simonem, &c. *Comm. in ep. ad Gal. Cap. i. T. 4. p. 237.*

(*m*) *Haer. 78. num. xiv. p. 1046.*

(*n*) *Theod. Tom. 3. p. 459.*

According to *Hegefippus* the death of *James* happened about the time of Passover, which might be that of the year 62. And if *Festus* was then dead, and *Albinus* not arrived, the province was without a Governour. Such a season left the Jews at liberty to gratify their licencious, and turbulent disposition. And they were very likely to embrace it. We may therefore very reasonably place this event at that juncture.

And it is now the general opinion of learned men, that *James* died about that time. *Pearson*, (o) who seems to admit the genuinnesse of the whole passage of *Josephus*, placeth the death of *James* in the year 62. *Him Mill* (p) follows. *Le Clerc*, who disputes the genuinnesse of those words, that relate to *James*, allows, that (q) he might dye about that time. This also is agreeable to *Tillemont's* (r) computation. And I refer to (s) *Valesius*.

VII.

(o) *Ann. Paulin.* p. 119. *A. Cbr.* lxxii.

(p) *Prolegom.* num. 56.

(q) *H. E. An.* 62. num. iii.

(r) *S. Jacque le Mineur.* art. vii. in.

(s) *Vales.* Annot. ad *Euseb.* l. 2. cap. 23. p. 41.

VII. It still remains, that we consider, on what account he was called the *Lord's brother*, and whether he be the same as *James the son of Alphaeus*. *In what respect he was our Lord's Brother.*

James, as we have seen, is called by *St. Paul the Lord's brother*. Gal. i. 19. All Christian writers in general speak of him in the like manner. The question is, in what sense he was so.

That *James* was not the son of *Marie*, or our Lord's brother by nature, has been well argued by Christians in former times, both (t) Latins, and (u) Greeks, from our Lord's

(t) Verum homines pravissimi hinc praesumunt opinionis suae auctoritatem, quod plures Dominum nostrum fratres habuisse sit traditum. Qui si Mariae filii fuissent, et non potius Josephi ex prioris conjugio suscepti, nunquam in tempore passionis Joanni Apostolo transcripta esset in matrem, Domino ad utrumque dicente, Mulier ecce filius tuus, et Joanni, Ecce mater tua : nisi quod desolatae solatium caritatem filii in discipulo relinquebat. *Hilar. Pict. Comm. in Matt. cap. i. p. 612. Ed. Bened.*

(u) Ἐἰ ἦσαν δὲ τέκνα τῇ μαρίᾳ, καὶ εἰ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῇ ἀνὴρ, τίνι λόγῳ παρεδίδοτε τὴν μαρίαν τῷ ἰωάννῃ, καὶ τὸν ἰωάννην τῇ μαρίᾳ; *Epiph. Haer. 78. num. x. p. 1042. C.*

Ἐἰ γὰρ ἔγνω αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν τάξει γυναῖκος ἔχει, πῶς ὡς ἀπρόσάτευτον αὐτήν, καὶ ἐδένα ἔχουσιν, τῷ μαθητῇ παρατίθεται, καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἴδια αὐτὴν λαβεῖν; *Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 5. T. 7. p. 77.*

Lord's words upon the crosse, recorded John xix. 26. 27. where he recomends the care of his mother to *John*: requiring her to consider him, as her son, and him to take care of her, as his mother.

And indeed it has been the opinion of all Christians in general, that *Marie* was always a virgin, and that she never had any children by *Joseph*. We must therefore inquire, in what respect this *James* was our Lord's brother, and some others his brothers, or sisters.

Eusebius, in a chapter quoted some while ago, the first of the second book of his Ecclesiastical Historie, without hesitation says, "that (x) *James* was said to be the Lord's brother, because he also was called the son of *Joseph*. And *Joseph* was reckoned his father, because the virgin *Marie* was espoused to him."

Origen (y) in a passage also cited (z) above, says, that the brethren of Jesus were the

(x) Τότε δὴ καὶ ἰάκωβον, τὸν τῷ κυρίῳ λεγόμενον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἰωσήφ ἀνόμαστο παῖς· τῷ δὲ χριστῷ πατὴρ ὁ ἰωσήφ, ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα ἡ παρθένος. κ. λ. L. 2. c. 1. p. 38. B.

(y) In Matt. T. x. p. 462. 463. T. 3. Bened. P. 223. Tom. i. Huet.

(z) See before. p. 32.

the sons of *Joseph* by a former wife, who had cohabited with him before *Marie*. And he mentions it, as supported by an ancient tradition. This was the opinion (a) of *Epiphanius*, and of many (b) ancient writers, both Greeks and Latins.

Jerome, in his article of this person, in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, says: "*James* (c) who is called the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, was, as some think, the son of *Joseph* by another wife, but, as seems to me, the son of *Marie*, sister to our Lord's mother, mentioned by *John*, in his Gospel. John xix. 25." And in his book against *Helvidius* he delivers it as his opinion, that (d) those called our Lord's bre-

(a) *Epiph. Haer. 29. n. iii. et iv. Haer. 51. num. x. Haer. 78. num. viii. et ix. Ancorat. num. lx. p. 62.*

(b) *Greg. Nyssen de Christi Resur. Or. 2. Tom. 3. p. 412. 413. Cbrysost. in Matt. hom. 5. Tom. 7. p. 77. C. Theophyl. in Gal. i. 19. p. 448. Niceph. Call. l. 2. cap. 3. in. Hilar. Pictar. Comm. in Matt. cap. i. p. 612. ed. Bened. Ambros. de Instit. Virg. cap. vi. T. 2. p. 260. Bened. Ambrosiastri Comment. in Gal. i. 19. ap. Ambros. in App. T. 2. p. 213.*

(c) *Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore, ut mihi videtur, Mariae sororis matris Domini, cujus Joannes in libro suo meminit, filius. De V. I. cap. 2.*

(d) *Restat igitur, ut juxta superiorem expositionem fratres eos*

brethren in the Gospels, were so named, as they were cousins, or relations. He speaks to the like purpose also (*e*) in his Commentarie upon Matth. xii. 49. 50.

This opinion was at length embraced by *Augustin*. In his Exposition of the epistle to the *Galatians*, writ about the year 394. he speaks dubiously, saying, "that (*f*) *James* was the Lord's brother, as he was the son of *Joseph* by a former wife, or else as he was related to his mother *Marie*." But in works, writ afterwards, he continually

eos intelligas appellatos, cognatione, non affectu, non gentis privilegio, non naturâ: quomodo Lot Abrahæ, quomodo Jacob Laban est appellatus frater. &c. *Adv. Helvid. T. 4. P. 2. p. 140.*

(*e*) Quidam fratres Domini de aliâ uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta apocryphorum, et quandam Mescham vel Escham mulierculam consingentes. Nos autem, sicut in libro, quem contra Helvidium scripsimus, continetur, non filios Joseph, sed consobrinos Salvatoris, Mariæ liberos, intelligimus, materteræ Domini: quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris, et Joseph, et Judæ: quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem consobrinos dici, omnis scriptura demonstrat. *In Matth. cap. xii. T. 4. p. 53.*

(*f*) Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filiis Joseph de alia uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus debet intelligi. *Aug. Expos. ep. ad Gal. cap. i. et ii. num. 8. Tom. 3. P. 2.*

ally says, that (g) our Lord's brethren were relations of his mother *Marie*.

The former, as appears from the authors just cited, was the more ancient opinion. Nor does *Jerome* allege any before him who held the opinion mentioned as his own. Indeed he seems to have been the first, who said, that our Lord's brethren were the sons of *Marie*, his mother's sister, and therefore only cousins or relations. But when he advanced this notion, he (b) was inclined to think *Joseph* also a virgin. As has been well observed by (i) *G. J. Vossius*.

How-

(g) *Fratres ejus sic accipite, sicut nostis. Non enim novum est quod auditis. Consanguinei virginis Mariae fratres Domini dicebantur. Scriptura tamen hujusmodi cognationes fratres appellat. Nam Abraham et Lot fratres sunt dicti, cum esset Abraham patruus Lot: et Laban et Jacob fratres sunt dicti, cum esset Laban avunculus Jacob. &c. In Joan. Tract. 28. num. 3. Tom. 3. P. 2. Vid. ibid. in Matth. Qu. xvii. et in Joan. Tr. x.*

Et Loth frater Abrahæ dicitur, cum patruus ejus esset Abraham. Ex quâ vocabuli consuetudine etiam fratres Domini vocantur in Evangelio, non utique quos Maria virgo pepererat, sed ejus consanguinitate omnes propinqui. *Contr. Faust. l. 22. cap. 35. T. 8.*

(b) Tu dicis, Mariam virginem non permanfisse. Ego mihi plus vindico, etiam ipsum *Joseph* virginem fuisse per Mariam, ut ex virginitatis conjugio virgo filius nasceretur. *Adv. Helvid. Tom. 4. p. 142. in.*

(i) Et sane, qui *Josephum* putaret non habuisse uxorem,
ante-

However *Jerome's* opinion has prevailed very much of late. I suppose, it may be that (*k*) of the Romanists in general. It was also the opinion of (*l*) *Lightfoot*. It is likewise embraced by (*m*) *Witsius*, and (*n*) *Lampe*, and (*o*) many other Protestants. But *Valesius*, among the Romanists, in his Annotations upon the above cited chapter of *Eusebius*, says, he (*p*) thinks, that *James* was

antequam B. Mariam duceret, ante B. Hieronymum arbitror fuisse neminem : utcumque posterioribus temporibus, in virginitate extollenda immodicis, avide multi eam fuerint sententiam amplexi. *Voss. de Gen. Christi. cap. vi.*

(*k*) *Vid. Baron. in Apparatu num. lxi. Ec. Est. ad Gal. cap. i. 19. et alibi. Tillem. S. Jacques le Mineur. Art. i. et ii.*

(*l*) *See Lightfoot's Works. Vol. i. p. 270. 541. 660.*

(*m*) At quamvis *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorius Nyssenus*, plurimique veterum, in eandem concesserint sententiam, non videtur mihi ea probabilibus niti argumentis. Rectius *Hieronymo* accedemus, arbitranti eos qui Domini fratres dicuntur, fuisse ejus consobrinos, loquendi genere, etiam *Graecis* et *Romanis* noto. *Wits. Comm. in ep. Jud. §. 4. p. 454.*

(*n*) *Erat hic frater Jacobi minoris. . . . Quare fuit consobrinus Christi secundum carnem, natus ex Maria, uxore Cleophae, seu Alphaei, quae soror erat Mariae Matris Domini. Lampe in Evang. Joan. cap. xiv. 22. T. 3. p. 167.*

(*o*) *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 5. n. xi. T. 3. p. 165. And see Lefant et Beausobre sur Gal. i. 19. et la préface sur l'épître de S. Jacques. Dr. Benson in his preface to the epistle of St. James. sect. ii. Doddridge in his preface to the same epistle.*

(*p*) *Ait igitur Eusebius, Jacobum, qui in Evangelio et epistola*

was the son of *Joseph* by a former wife. The same opinion has been asserted by several among the Protestants, as (q) *G. J. Vossius*, and (r) *Basnage*, and (s) *Cave*, in his
Lives

epistola Pauli frater Domini dicitur, filium fuisse Josephi ex aliâ conjugē, quam Josephus ante Mariam sibi sociaverat. Cum Eusebio consentit Epiphanius . . . Gregorius Nyssenus. . . . sed Hieronymus in libro de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Jacobum hunc idcirco fratrem Domini appellatum esse existimat, quod filius esset Mariae, sororis fratris Domini. . . . Multa quidem de hoc argumento disseruit Baronius in Analibus. Mihi tamen verior videtur opinio eorum, qui Jacobum, et reliquos Domini fratres, Josephi ex priore matrimonio filios esse dicunt. Haec enim sententia magis convenit verbis Evangelii. *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. cap. 1.*

Fuit enim Jacobus filius Josephi, ac proinde oriundus ex stirpe David. *Id. in Annot. ad l. 2. cap. 23. p. 40.*

(q) *Voss. de Gen. J. C. cap. vi.*

(r) *Basnag. ann. ante Christ. 6. num. xxviii. et xxix.*

(s) "He was the son, (as we may probably conjecture,) of *Joseph*, afterwards husband to the blessed virgin, and his first wife. Hence reputed our Lord's brother, in the same sense, that he was reputed the son of *Joseph*. . . . *Jerome*, and some others, will have Christ's brethren so called, because sons of *Mary*, cousin-german, or, according to the custom of the Hebrew language, sister to the virgin *Mary*. But *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and the far greater part of the ancients, (from whom, especially in matters of fact, we are not rashly to depart,) make them the children of *Joseph* by a former wife. And this seems most genuine and natural, the Evangelists seeming very express and accurate in the account which they give of them. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses,*

Lives of the Apostles, writ in English. Nor does it appear, that he had abandoned his first judgement, when (*t*) he wrote his *Historia Literaria*.

I likewise have for a long time been much inclined to the same opinion. And have composed an argument upon the question. But I have laid it aside, supposing it to be rather too prolix, and too intricate, to be inserted in this place. And after all, perhaps some might think, that the argument does not afford a compleat solution of all difficulties and objections. I therefore enter not at present into any dispute about it, but leave every one to judge as he sees good.

*That He
was an A-
postle, and
the son of
Alpheus.*

VIII. Whether *James* was the son of *Joseph* by a former wife, or the son of *Marie*, wife of *Cleophas*, sister to *Marie*, our Lord's mother,

and Simon, and Jude? Matt. xiii. 55. 56. By which it is plain, that the Jews understood these persons not to be Christ's kinsmen only, but his brothers, the same carpenter's sons, having the same relation to him that Christ himself had: though they indeed had more, Christ being but his reputed, they his natural sons." And what follows. *The Life of James the Less. num. 2.*

(*t*) S. Jacobus apostolus . . . minor dictus, cognomento Justus, frater Domini, Josephi utpote ex priori conjugē, seu ut Hieronymo placet, Mariae sororis matris Domini filius. *Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 14.*

mother, or otherwise nearly related to her, he was an Apostle. I think, it was clearly proved at the begining of this chapter from the New Testament, that *James*, called *the Lord's brother*, was an Apostle in the highest acceptation of the word. Consequently, he must be *James* the son of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*. For those names seem to be one, differently writ.

But how he was so, is made out differently. They who say, that those called our Lord's brethren were sons of *Cleophas*, husband of *Marie*, related to our Lord's mother, seem to have here no difficulty. But they who suppose our Lord's brethren to have been sons of *Joseph* by a former wife, are somewhat embarrassed. However, I just observe, that the account, given by (u) *Epiphanius*, is this. *Cleophas* and *Joseph* were brothers. The former died without issue, and *Joseph* raised up seed to his brother. Accordingly, *James* being the first-born of *Joseph*, was called the son of *Cleophas*. In like manner speaks (x) *Theophylact*. But, as be-

F 2

fore

(u) *Vid. Epiph. Haer. 29. n. iii. iv. H. 51. n. x. H. 78. num. vii. viii. ix. et Ancorat. num. lx.*

(x) Πᾶς δὲ ἦν τῷ κλοπᾶ; Ἀνὴρ Κλοπᾶς καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀδελφοί.
Τῷ

fore said, I do not now form any debate about this.

That *James*, called our Lord's brother, is the same as he, who in the catalogues of the Apostles is called the *son of Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, is allowed by *Epiphanius*, *Chrysostom*, and *Theophylact*. *Epiphanius* says, that (y) *James*, by nature the son of *Joseph*, who was called the Lord's brother, and was an Apostle, was appointed the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*. *Chrysostom* in his comment upon *Gal. i. 19.* says, "that (z) *Paul* calls *James* the Lord's brother, giving him that honorable appellation, when he might have said the *son of Cleophas*, as he is called in the Gospels." *Theophylact* likewise says, "that (a) *Paul* calls him the Lord's brother, by the way

Τῷ κλωπᾷ ἀπαιδὸς τελευτήσαντος, ὁ ἰωσήφ ἐξανέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔτεκε τῷτον, καὶ τὸς ἄλλους αὐτῷ ἀδελφοὺς. κ. λ. *Theoph. in Gal. i. 19.*

(y) . . . κατασταθέντος εὐθύς ἰακῶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ κυρίῳ καλυμμένῳ καὶ ἀποστόλῃ ἐπισκόπῳ πρώτῳ ὑπὲρ ἰωσήφ φύσει ὄντος. κ. λ. *Haer. 29. n. iii.*

(z) Ἐὶ γὰρ σημαῖναι ὃν ἔλεγεν ἦθελεν, εἴην καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρου γνωρίσματος τῷτο ποιῆσαι δῆλον, καὶ εἰπὼν τὸν τῷ κλωπᾷ, ὅπερ καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔλεγεν. *Chr. in Gal. cap. i. T. x. p. 678. E.*

(a) Ἐἶδε δὲ καὶ ἰακώσον. Μετὰ τιμῆς δὲ καὶ τέττε μέμνηται, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῷ κυρίῳ εἰπὼν, ἕτω καὶ βασκανίας ἀπῆλλαχτο· καίτοι

way of an honorable distinction: when he might have called him the son of *Cleophas*. Nor was he the Lord's brother according to the flesh, but only thought to be so." I mention no more ancient writers.

And that *James*, called the son of *Alpheus* in the catalogues of the Apostles, was one of those, who are called *the Lord's brethren*, I think, may be shewn from the Gospels, by comparing several texts together.

In all the catalogues of the twelve Apostles of Christ the four last mentioned are these. *James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.* Matt. x. 3. 4. *James the son of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, which also betrayed him.* Mark iii. 18. 19. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon called Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot, which also was the traitor.* Luke vi. 15. 16. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.* Acts. i. 13.

F 3

Let

καίτοι εἰ ἠθέλητο σημεῖναι, ἔπεν αὐν, τὸν τῷ κλοπᾷ· ἰδὲ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐνομίζετο. *Theoph. in Gal. i. 19.*

Let us now compare the texts in the Gospels, where our Lord's brethren are named. Matt. xiii. 55. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Marie? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* And Mark vi. 3. *Is not this the carpenter, the son of Marie, the brother of James, and of Joses, and of Judah, and Simon?*

All these, except Joses, seem to have been Apostles. For must not the three Apostles, last mentioned before Judas Iscariot, in the first catalogues, and the three last mentioned, in the Acts, be three of the four called in the Gospels our Lord's brethren?

And I should choose to translate the texts of St. Luke, where the Apostles are named, somewhat differently from what is generally done, in this manner. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas, brethren of James*: declaring, that both Simon, and Judas, were brethren of James, the son of Alpheus, before named. A word must be supplied. And the coherence leads me to think, *brethren* more proper than *brother*.

By all which we are led to conclude, that James, several times mentioned in the Acts, and

and St. Paul's epistles, is the same, who in the catalogues of the Apostles is called *James the son of Alphaeus*. For *James*, mentioned by St. Paul, is called *the Lord's brother*, and plainly appears to be an Apostle. Consequently, he is *James, the son of Alphaeus*, mentioned in all the catalogues of the Apostles of Christ.

Wall in his notes upon John vii. at the beginning says: "These brethren and kinsfolk of our Lord, as they were but mean persons, so also they were some of the backwardest to believe in him. . . . They that are most usually called his brethren were *James*, and *Joses*, and *Simon*, and *Judas*. . . . Two of these, *James* and *Judas*, some learned men think to have been two of the Apostles. And there were two Apostles of those names that were brethren. But this place, if they be of those that are meant in it, is a strong argument against that opinion. For these brethren did hardly yet believe in him. But the Apostles did. This was but half a year before he suffered."

Upon which I would observe. When St. John says ch. vii. 5. *For neither did his brethren believe in him*: he does not intend to say, that they had not faith in him.

him. *Grotius's* comment appears to me very right. "The (*b*) meaning is not, that they did not believe at all: but that they did not believe, as they should."

Learned men are certainly in the right, when they say, that some of our Lord's brethren were Apostles. And it seems to me, that all those, who in the Gospels are called our Lord's brethren, had early and always an affection and esteem for him. This may be perceived from several places in the Gospels, as Matt. xii. 46. Mark iii. 31. Luke viii. 19. See also John ii. 12. And in time they all believed in him, and that rightly, as the Messiah. St. Luke, in the historie of things after our Lord's ascension. Acts. i. 13. 14. having mentioned the names of the Apostles, adds: *These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Marie the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.* And St. Paul i. Cor. ix. 5. speaks of *brethren of the Lord*, not Apostles, who labored in spreading the gospel in the world.

They, of whom St. John speaks, had worldly views and expectations. They were

(*b*) Non omnino, non ut oportebat. *Grot. in loc.*

were desirous, that Jesus, if he were indeed the Messiah, should go to *Jerusalem*, and set up his kingdom in a glorious manner. Even after this several, who certainly were Apostles, betrayed great ignorance, or weak faith, or wrong apprehensions, by their discourages, and questions put to our Saviour. Of *Thomas* see John xiv. 5. Of *Philip* see ver. 8. . . . 11. and of *Judas* ver. 22. 23.

Those brethren of our Lord proposed, that he should hasten to *Jerusalem*, to the feast of Tabernacles, nigh at hand. . . . *Jesus said to them: My time is not yet come. But your time is always readie. The world cannot hate you. But me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil. Go ye up unto this feast. I go not up yet unto this feast. For my time is not yet full come.* ch. vii. 6. 7. 8. It is manifest, that he taxeth their carnality and worldlimindednesse. As if he had said: "It is (c) not proper for me "to go up to this feast, as yet, nor till after it is begun. But you may go up at any "time, since you have done little or nothing "to

(c) Compare Mr. James Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*. p. 5. Vol. ii.

“ to make the Jews unfriendly to you, as I
 “ have done : who by the strictness of my
 “ doctrine, and the freedom of my reproofs,
 “ have provoked many to a great degree.”

It follows in ver. 9. 10. *When he had said these things unto them, he abode still in Galilee. But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.* These words may afford, in the opinion of some, another objection to the supposition, that these brethren of our Lord were Apostles. But to me the objection appears not of much moment. Some of these brethren might nevertheless be among the Apostles, and go up to the feast before him. For our Lord seems not to have been attended by all his Apostles in that journey. So much is implied in the manner, in which it was performed. *He went not openly, but as it were in private :* in a more private manner, than he had usually done, and attended by a small number of his Apostles only, several of them having gone up to *Jerusalem* before him, upon occasion of the approaching solemnity.

Chrysostom seems not to have doubted, that some of the brethren of our Lord, here spoken of, were Apostles, or at least among
 his

his disciples. For discoursing on John vii. 3. 4. 5. he says: "Observe (*d*) with me the power of Christ. Of them who uttered these words, one was the first Bishop of Jerusalem, even the blessed James, of whom Paul says: *Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.* And Judas also is said to have been a wonderfull man." So says Chrysostom, who did not receive the epistle of St. Jude, so far as we can perceive, though he did that of St. James.

IX. This James is called by St. Mark, *the less.* ch. xv. 40. There were also women looking on afar off. Among whom was Marie Magdalen, and Marie the mother of James the less, and Joses, and Salome. That hereby is meant James, the Lord's brother, and the son of Alpheus, is generally supposed, and I think reasonably. He can be no other, because Joses is presently afterwards mentioned, as his brother, agreeably to other places of the Evangelists, where our Lord's bre-

Why called the Less.

(*d*) Σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει τὴν χριστὸν τὴν δύναμιν. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν τῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων τὰ ῥήματα, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος γέγονεν, ὁ μακάριος ἰάκωβος. . . . Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἰάκωβος θαυμαστός τε γεγονέναι. In Jo. hom. 48. T. 8. p. 284. D.

brethren are named. Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. But interpreters are not agreed, why he was so called.

It has been thought, that (e) herein is a reference to *James* the son of *Zebedee*, and brother of *John*, who had been beheaded by *Herod* in the year of Christ 44. And *Lightfoot* says, "that (f) *James*, or *Jacob*, is commonly called *James the great*, in distinction from *James* the son of *Alpheus*, who is called the less, not for any dignity, or superiority of apostleship that he had above the other, but either because this *James* was the elder, or because of the singular privacy, that Christ admitted him to with himself, as he also did *Peter* and *John*."

Here are several reasons of this denomination. But though *Lightfoot* says, *James* the son of *Zebedee* was commonly called *James the great*, there is no instance of it in the New Testament.

It

(e) Puto ita dictum inter Apostolos ad discrimen Jacobi Zebedaidae. Grot. ad Marc. xv. 40.

(f) The third Part of the Harmony of the four Evangelists. Vol. i. p. 634.

It may be observed, that *the less*, in the original, is not a comparative, but a positive, *the little*, τὸ μικρὸν. And so *Beza* has translated. *Maria Jacobi parvi et Jose mater.* However in the Latin Vulgate it is *Jacobi minoris.* And it is evident, that (g) *Jerome* so understood the word.

Gregorie Nyssen (b) thought, he was called the less, as not being one of the twelve Apostles. Which reason I cannot admit, because I am persuaded he was an Apostle, if he was the Lord's brother. Nor do I perceive in the New Testament more than two of this name.

Some say, he was so called, because he was the younger of the two Apostles of this name. But of this there is no proof, nor probability. For *James*, the son of *Alpheus*, must have been his father's first-born, and
may

(g) Si non est Apostolus, sed nescio quis Jacobus, quomodo est frater Domini putandus? Et quomodo tertius ad distinctionem majoris appellabitur minor? quum major et minor non inter tres, sed inter duos soleant praeberere distantiam. *Adv. Helvid. p. 138. in.*

(b) Ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰακώβου τὸ μικρὸν καὶ ἰωσήμιν μητέρα αὐτὴν ἔπεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ἡν ἄλλος ἰακώβος ὁ τὸ ἀλφάει, διὰ τοῦτο μέγας, ὅτι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῖς δώδεκα συναριθμητο· ὁ γὰρ μικρὸς ἐκ ἡν αὐτοῖς ἐναριθμῆται. *Greg. Nyss. De Christi. Res. Or. 2. T. 3. p. 413.*

may have been as old, or older than *James* the son of *Zebedee*.

Some have conjectured, that (*i*) he might be so called on account of his stature. Which conjecture is favored by the literal sense of the word in the positive degree, *James the little*. And some may be apt to think, that this was one reason, why the Jews at the temple, according to *Hegesippus*, placed him on an eminence, that he might be heard by all the people, when assembled in great numbers. So *Zacheus*, being *little of stature*, and there being a great croud, climbed up into a sycamore tree, to see Jesus, as he passed by. Luke xviii. Perhaps, this is as likely a conjecture, as any.

Nevertheless I shall mention one more. He might be so called, on account of his inferiority, in comparison of the other *James*. It is manifest, that during the time of our Lord's abode on this earth, *Peter*, and *James* and *John*, the two sons of *Zebedee*, were the most eminent and considerable of the disciples. They were the most favored, and
were

(*i*) Potuit etiam Jacobus parvus appellari ad corporis molem ratione habitâ: quomodo apud Romanos ob corporis affectiones Pauli, Magni Longi, Crassi, Claudii, Pulchri nuncupabantur. *Basnag. ann. ante Dom. 6. num. xxxi.*

were admitted by our Lord to some special measure of confidence and freedom. And it is observable, that in all the catalogues of the Apostles *James* the son of *Alpheus*, and *Simon the Canaanite*, or *Zelotes*, and *Judas*, are the last mentioned, except *Judas Iscariot*. Possibly these three, whom I suppose to have been our Lord's brethren, were the latest called to be Apostles, and for a while were defective in faith, and understanding, or not so considerable, and eminent, as some of the other Apostles, particularly, *James* the son of *Zebedee*. The question put to our Lord by *Judas*, one of them, recorded in John xiv. 22. seems a remarkable instance of the slowness of his understanding in the things of religion, under all the advantages, which he had enjoyed.

James therefore might be called *the less*, by way of distinction from another of the same name, who had been called to be an Apostle before him, and was more eminent. And yet the appellation carried not in it any reflection, This coincides with some things said by *Lightfoot* above.

However, it is mentioned only as a conjecture, to be considered by those, who are disposed to do it. For I am not able to say
with

with assurance, what was the ground and reason of this appellation:

*Surnamed
the Just,
and other
Marks of
Respect.*

X. We have seen divers proofs of the respect shewn to this person, which any one is able to recollect, and therefore they need not to be repeated. However, I shall here take notice of a few such things.

1. He is never called *Justus*, or *the Just*, in the New Testament. But he seems to have been so called by many even in his life-time, as well as afterwards. *Eusebius* says, that (*k*) he was called the Just by the ancients on account of the eminence of his virtue. He is several times so called in the passages of *Clement of Alexandria*, quoted from *Eusebius* (*l*) some while agoe. *Hegesippus* says, he (*m*) had been called the Just by all from our Saviour's time to his own: and afterwards, that (*n*) on account of his eminent virtue he was

(*k*) Τῆτον δὴ ἐν αὐτὸν ἰάκωβον, ὃν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικλῆν ὁ πάλαι δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐκάλειν προτερήματα. . . . *Euf. H. E. l. 2. c. 1.* p. 38. B.

(*l*) p. 25. 26.

(*m*) Ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τῷ κυρίῳ χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν. *Ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. p. 63. D.*

(*n*) Διὰ γένοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο δίκαιος καὶ ὁσέλιας. *Ib. p. 64. A.*

was called the Just, and *Oblias*. He likewise says, that (*o*) the Jews at the temple called him the Just, as may be seen in the account of his death, transcribed above. *Jerome* (*p*) in the begining of his article of this person says, “that *James* the Lord's brother was furnamed the Just.”

2. In his commentarie upon the epistle to *Galatians*, at ch. i. 19. he says, “that (*q*) *James* there spoken of, was in such esteem for his sanctity, that it was no uncommon thing for people to croud about him, and strive to touch the hem of his garment.”

3. *Eusebius* says, that (*r*) the episcopal chair, in which *James* was used to sit, was pre-

(*o*) . . . καὶ ἔκραξαν αὐτῶν, καὶ εἶπον· Δίκαιε, ὃ πάντες πᾶ-
θεσθαι ὀφείλομεν. *Ib. D. Vid. et p. 65. A. et B.*

(*p*) *Jacobus*, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento
Iustus. De V. I. cap. 2.

(*q*) *Hic autem Jacobus episcopus Jerosolymorum primus*
fuit, cognomento Iustus: vir tantae sanctitatis et rumoris in
populo, ut simbriam vestimenti ejus certatim cuperent attingere. *In Gal. T. 4. p. 237. in.*

(*r*) Τὸν γὰρ ἱακώβου θρόνον τῶ πρώτῃ τῆς ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλη-
σίας . . . εἰς δεῦρο περιλαγμένον οἱ τῆςδε κατὰ διὰδοχὴν περι-
έποντες ἀδελφοί. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 7. c. 19.*

preserved to his time, and was had in veneration by the church at *Jerusalem*.

*A Review
of the
whole.*

XI. I have not been able to write the historie of this person so regularly, as that of some others. For which reason it may not be amiss to take a summarie view of what we have seen.

James, sometimes called the less, the son of *Alpheus*, and called the Lord's brother, either as being the son of *Joseph* by a former wife, or a relation of his mother *Marie*, was one of Christ's Apostles. We have no account of the time, when he was called to the apostleship. Nor is there any thing said of him particularly in the historie of our Saviour, which is in the Gospels. But from the Acts, and St. *Paul's* epistles, we can perceive, that after our Lord's ascension he was of note among the Apostles. Soon after St. *Stephen's* death in the year 36. or thereabout, he seems to have been appointed President, or Superintendent in the church of *Jerusalem*, where, and in *Judea*, he resided the remaining part of his life. Accordingly, he presided in the Council of *Jerusalem*, held there in the year

year 49. or 50. He was in great repute among the Jewish People, both believers and unbelievers, and was surnamed the Just. Notwithstanding which he suffered martyrdom in a tumult at the temple: and, probably, in the former part of the year 62. He wrote one epistle, not long before his death, of which we shall speak presently.





C H A P. XVII.

The Epistle of St. James.

- I. *The Evidences of it's Genuinnesse.*
 II. *When writ.* III. *To whom.*

HAVING now done all I am able
 for clearing up the historie of this
 person, I come to consider the
 epistle ascribed to him.

Here I would observe the evidences of it's
 genuinnesse and authority, the time when,
 and the people, to whom it was writ.

*It's genu-
 innesse.*

I. And for the first point. This epistle
 seems to be alluded, or referred to, by *Cle-
 ment Bishop of Rome*. Vol. i. p. 95. . . . 97.
 and by *Hermas*, p. 128. . . . 131. It is not
 expressly quoted by *Irenaeus*. Nor are there
 in

in him any indisputed references to it. Vol. i. p. 373. . . 378. Nor do we perceive it to be quoted by *Clement of Alexandria*. Vol. ii. p. 504. . . 508. and 511. . . 515. nor by *Tertullian*. p. 613. . . 616. This epistle is quoted once or twice by *Origen*, but, as of doubtfull authority, or not received by all. Vol. iii. p. 262. . . 264. We do not observe any notice to be taken of this epistle by *Cyprian*. Vol. iv. p. 828. It seems to be referred to by *Commodian*, a Latin writer about the year 270. Vol. v. p. 124. It is probable, that it was received by the *Manicheans*, and *Paulicians*. Vol. vi. p. 337. 338. and p. 428. . . 432. It seems to be referred to by *Lactantius*. vii. p. 188.

From a passage of *Eusebius*, cited in the (a) preceding chapter, it appears, that in his time, the begining of the fourth centurie, all the seven epistles called catholic, were well known, and received by many. And he expressly says, that the epistle of *James* was the first of them. And to the like purpose again in another passage to be here taken notice of by us. Having given a particular account of the death of *James*, called

(a) See before. p. 4. 5.

the Just, and the brother of the Lord, and Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he concludes the chapter in this manner. “ Thus far, (*b*) says he, “ concerning *James*, who is said to be the “ writer of the first of the epistles called catholic. But it ought to be observed, that “ it is spurious: [meaning, that it was a “ contradicted book of scripture, or at the “ utmost, that it was doubted of, or rejected “ by many:] Forasmuch as there are not “ many of the ancient writers, who have “ quoted it: as neither that called *Jude's*, “ another of the seven epistles called catholic. However we know, that these also “ are commonly used [or publicly read] in “ most churches, together with the rest.”

This passage is very satisfactorie. For it assures us, who was the writer of this epistle: namely *James*, before spoken of, called the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, who generally resided at *Jerusalem*. It also assures us, that though it had been doubted of by some,

(*b*) Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, ἧ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν εἶναι λέγεται. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται. Οὐ πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὥς ἐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς ἕως τῶν ἑπτα λεγομένων καθολικῶν. Ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλεῖστοις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 66. Comp. Vol. viii. p.*

some, it was then generally received, and publicly read, in the assemblies of Christians. They who have leisure, and are curious, may see what was farther observed by us formerly relating to the opinion of *Eusebius* himself concerning this epistle, and the writer of it. Vol. viii. p. 150. . . . 156.

I only add here, that this epistle of *St. James* is one of the three catholic epistles received by the *Syrian* Christians, and by *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret*. And that after the time of *Eusebius*, this and the other six catholic epistles, were received by all Greeks and Latins in general: and are in the catalogues of canonical scripture composed by Councils, and learned authors. As was shewn in a foregoing chapter. However, there might be still some few, who doubted of it's authority, especially in the East, as was observed Vol. xi. p. 298. 299.

This epistle was received by *Jerome*, as was distinctly and largely shewn in his article. Vol. x. p. 125. . . . 129. Who in one place says: "The (c) apostles, *James*, *Peter*, *John*, *Jude*, write seven epistles, of few words, but full of sense." It may nevertheless

G 4

(c) Vol. x. p. 77.

less be worth the while to recollect here particularly what he says of it in his book of *Illustrious Men*, transcribed there at p. 125.

“*James*, the Lord’s brother, . . . wrote but
 “one epistle, which is among the seven
 “catholic epistles. Which (*d*) too is said
 “to have been published by another in his
 “name. But gradually, in proceſſe of
 “time it has gained authority. This is he,
 “of whom *Paul* writes in his epistle to the
 “*Galatians*. And he is often mentioned in
 “the Acts of the Apostles.”

*Which likewise, says Jerome, is said to
 have been published by another in his name :*
 that is, even that one epistle is said by some
 to be spurious, and not really writ by *James*,
 though it bears his name. But I do not be-
 lieve, there is reason to think, that was ever
 said by any. And I am persuaded, that what
Jerome says here is owing to a mistake of
 his, not rightly understanding *Eusebius*.
 Who, as may be remembred, says : “ This
James is said to be the author of the first of
 the epistles called catholic. But (*e*) it ought
 to

(*d*) Quae et ipsa ab aliquo quodam sub nomine ejus edita
 asseritur.

(*e*) ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p.*
 66. C.

to be observed, that it is spurious." By which *Jerome* understood *Eusebius* to say, that this epistle was falsely ascribed to *James*, and was not his. Whereas *Eusebius* means no more, than that it was a contradicted book, not received by all as of authority: or at the utmost, that it was doubted of, or rejected by many. This I suppose to have been clearly shewn before. See Vol. viii. p. 112. . . . 121. and also p. 155. 156. (A.)

The reason, why this epistle was not received by all, I suppose to have been, that it was not certainly known, that *James*, the writer of it, was an Apostle. We have observed several ancient writers, who did not allow him to have that high character. There were two Apostles, of this name: *James* the son of *Zebedee*, and *James* the son of *Alpheus*. That the writer of this epistle was not *James* the son of *Zebedee*, must have been evident. Nor was it certain, that he was the son of *Alpheus*. Another reason of doubting of his apostleship may have been, that he was often called Bishop of

(A) I likewise refer to Dr. Leonard Twells's Examination of the late new Text and Version of the N. T. Part. 2. ch. 2. p. 82. Who speaks to the like purpose.

The Epistle of St. James. Ch. XVII.

of *Jerusalem*, and said by some to have been appointed to that office by the Apostles. This also may have contributed to the doubt, whether he was one of the twelve Apostles of Christ.

Other reasons have been assigned in late ages, why some might hesitate about receiving this epistle as a part of canonical scripture. But those reasons are not to be found in the most early antiquity. Whereas we can plainly perceive, that not a few learned Christians of the first ages were not satisfied, the writer was an Apostle. Which must have occasioned a demur concerning the high authority of the epistle.

If this *James* was not one of the twelve Apostles, he was nevertheless a person of great distinction, as he was the Lord's brother, and resided many years at *Jerusalem* after our Lord's ascension, as president, or superintendent of the church there, and of the Jewish believers in *Judea* in general. Accordingly, *Eusebius*, who did not think this *James* to be one of the twelve Apostles, in his Commentarie upon *Isaiab*, reckons fourteen Apostles, meaning *Paul*, and this *James*, though not equal to him. See Vol. viii. p. 153. 154. And *Jerome* likewise, in
one

one place, formerly taken notice of, reckons this *James*, brother of the Lord, an additional Apostle with *Paul*, beside the twelve. Vol. x. p. 128.

But I think it manifest, that *James*, the Lord's brother, who resided at *Jerusalem*, several times mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and in *St. Paul's* epistles, was an Apostle, one of the twelve, and consequently, the same with him, who is called the son of *Alpheus*. And as this epistle has been all along ascribed to *James*, the Lord's brother, surnamed the Just, I receive it as a part of sacred scripture, and think, it ought to be so received.

II. Concerning the time of this epistle, there cannot be very different apprehensions. *When writ.*

Mill (f) says, it was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and a year or two before

(f) De tempore, quo scripta est, certum est in primis exaratam fuisse ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. De hoc enim, ut et de generali Judaeorum calamitate, veluti jam imminente, loquitur. cap. v. 1. Jam vero Jacobus statim post Festi mortem martirium obiit, teste Josepho, anno aerae vulgaris, ex rationibus Pearsonianis, quas libenter sequor, lxii, adeoque uno vel altero ante mortem, scriptam censuerim hanc epistolam circa annum lx. *Prol. num. 56.*

fore his own death, about the year 60. Which is also the opinion of (g) *Fabrianus*.

But that appears to me rather too soon. If *St. James* suffered martyrdom in the year 62. I should be inclined to think, this epistle was writ in the beginning of that year, or in 61. and but a short time before his death.

Eusebius says: "When (b) *Paul* had appealed to *Cesar*, and had been sent to *Rome* by *Festus*, the Jews who had aimed at his death, being disappointed in that design, turned their rage against *James*, the Lord's brother, who had been appointed by the Apostles Bishop of *Jerusalem*." In like manner *Tillemont*, adopting that thought, says: "St. *Paul* (i) having been sent to *Rome*, near the end of the year 60. by *Festus*, Governour of *Judea*, the Jews finding themselves not able to accomplish their design against him, turned their rage against *James*. Nevertheless they did not shew it, till eighteen months after, when *Festus* being dead, and *Albinus*, who succeeded him, not being

(g) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. n. ix. Tom. 3. p. 165.*

(b) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. in.*

(i) *S. Jacques le Mineur. Art. vii. Mem. Tom. i.*

being yet arrived, the province was without a Governour."

That the Jews were much vexed, when *Paul* was sent to *Rome*, and had thus escaped out of their hands, is very reasonably supposed. But that their vexation upon that account was the occasion of the death of *James*, is mere conjecture. Nor does any thing like it appear in the accounts of his death, which *Eusebius* has transcribed from *Hegeſippus*, and *Joſephus*.

If I likewise may be allowed to mention a conjecture, (which is at least as probable, as that just taken notice of,) I should say, I am apt to think, that the death of *James* was partly occasioned by the offense taken at his epistle: in which are not only sharp reprehensions of the unbelieving Jews for the crimes committed by them, but also affecting representations of the dreadful calamities coming upon them. Chap. iv. 1. . . . 8. v. 1. . . . 6.

III. I am now to consider, to whom this *To whom.* epistle was sent.

Beza says, it (*k*) was sent to the believing

(*k*) . . . fidelibus omnibus Judaeis, cujuscunque tribus sint, per orbem terrarum dispersis. *Bez. ad cap. i. 1.*

ing Jews, dispersed all over the world. *Cave* (l) seems to say, to believing Jews chiefly. And (m) to the like purpose *Fabricius*. *Grotius* (n) says, to all the people of *Israel* living out of *Judea*. *Wall's* account of this epistle is this: "It (o) was written to such Jews, (being now Christians,) as were dispersed abroad out of *Judea*. . . . This epistle consists of general exhortations to piety, patience, and other moral virtues. It has twice or thrice mentioned our Saviour: but has nothing of his miracles, or teachings, or death, or resurrection, or our redemption by him: of which *Paul's*, and *Peter's*, and *John's* epistles are full."

To me it seems, that this epistle was writ to all Jews descendents of *Jacob*, of every denomination, throughout the world, in *Judea*, and out of it. For such is the inscription:

(l) Scripsit, Paullo, ut videtur, ante mortem, epistolam catholicam Judaeis ἐν διασπορᾷ, Christianam praecipue doctrinam professis. *Cav. H. L. in Jacobo.*

(m) ad Judaeos maxime Christianissimum amplexos, qui usquequaque dispersi degebant. *Ubi supr. p. 160.*

(n) Id est, gente Israelitica qui erant extra Judaeam. *Gr. ad loc.*

(o) *Crit. Notes upon the N. T. p. 144.*

tion: *James, a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes, which are scattered abroad, greeting.* No expression can be more general, than *the twelve tribes.* There is not any limitation, restraining it to Christians, or believers in Jesus. Nor does he wish them grace or peace from Jesus Christ. It is only a general salutation, or greeting. Indeed he does not dissemble his own character. He calls himself *a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ.* He takes upon himself the character of a Christian, and, perhaps, of an Apostle. But he does not so characterize those, to whom he writes. Nor is there any Christian benediction at the end of the epistle.

Nor can I see, why *the twelve tribes scattered abroad* should not comprehend those of them in *Judea*, which were the peculiar charge of the writer. And divers things in the epistle seem to belong to them especially. He means therefore the people of the twelve tribes every where, in *Judea*, and out of it.

A large part of the epistle is suitable to Christians. But there are divers paragraphs, that must be understood, to be addressed to

un-

unbelieving Jews, particularly ch. v. 1. 6. as is generally allowed. I think likewise, that the first ten verses of ch. iv. are addressed to unbelieving Jews. Where it is said: *Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts, that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not. Ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain. Ye fight, and war.* These things could not be said to Christians. They must relate to those disturbances, which, some while before the Roman war broke out, were every where among the unbelieving Jews.

I am of opinion, that this way of writing was chosen, to abate the offense, which the reproofs, and exhortations, and warnings of the epistle were likely to occasion. St. *James* writes in a general way. Let all apply to themselves those things, which belong to them. *Wall's* note upon ch. v. 6. is to this effect: "This is spoken, not to the Christians, but to some rich Heathens, or infidel Jews, that oppressed and murdered them. No Christians of those times had any wars, or fightings, such as ch. iv.

1. or *killing*, as here : viz. not in the time of *James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*."

And says *Whitby* upon ch. iv. 1. "*Whence come wars?*" This epistle seems to have been writ about the 8. of *Nero*, and the 62. of *Christ*, the year before the death of *James* : before which time the Jews had great wars and fightings, not only with their neighbours, [See note upon Matt. xxiv. 6.] but even among themselves, in every city and familie, saith *Josephus* : nor only in *Judea*, but in *Alexandria*, and *Syria*, and many other places." A very proper note upon the text, as seems to me. And what he says upon the following verses of that chapter, and upon ch. v. 1. . . . 6. and in his preface to the epistle sect. v. and vi. deserves also attentive regard. Where indeed he expressly says : " Since *James* writes to the " whole *twelve tribes*, I doubt not but those " of *Palestine* must be included."

Mr. *Pyle* (*p*) has spoken clearly to the like

(*p*) These circumstances gave occasion to this Apostle, the Residentiary of the circumcision in *Judea*, to endite this epistle, partly to the infidel, and partly to the believing Jews.

like purpose in the preface to his Paraphrase of this epistle.

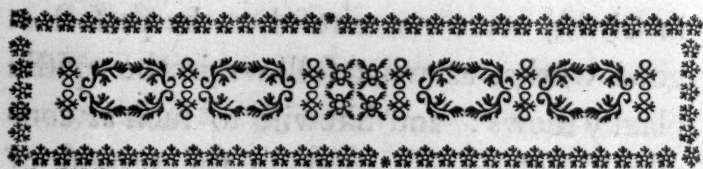
I shall now transcribe a part of Venerable *Bede's* note upon the begining of this epistle. From the words, *scattered abroad*, he is led to think of what is said Acts. viii. 1. that upon occasion of the persecution against the church at *Jerusalem* after the death of *Stephen*, *they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the Apostles*, and says, "that (q) *James* writes this epistle to those who were scattered abroad, and suffered persecution for the sake of

... It was directed to the Jews and Jewish converts of the dispersion. Yet, as that to the *Hebrews* was intended for the general benefit of all the scattered tribes, though directed to the natives of the holy land: so, no doubt, this had an equal respect to them, over whom *James* immediatly presided, in the special character of their Bishop." *Pyle's Paraphrase.* vol. ii. p. 290. 291.

(q) Legimus, occiso a Judaeis B. Stephano, quia facta est in illa die persecutio magna, in ecclesiâ, quae est Hierosolymis, et omnes dispersi sunt per regiones Judaeae et Samariae, praeter Apostolos. His ergo dispersis, qui persecutionem passi sunt propter justitiam, mittit epistolam. Nec solum his, verum etiam illis, qui percepta fide Christi needum operibus perfecti esse curabant, sicut sequentia epistolae plane testantur: necnon et eis, qui etiam fidei exortes durabant, quin et ipsam in credentibus, quantum valere, persequi ac perturbare studebant. *Bed. Expos. super Jacob. Epist.*

of righteousness: nor to them only, but also to those, who though they had believed in Christ, were not careful to be perfect in good works, as what follows in the epistle plainly shews: and likewise to such as continued unbelieving, and to the utmost of their power persecuted those who believed." Which appears to me very right.



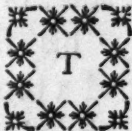


C H A P. XVIII.

St. Peter.

- I. *His Historie to the Time of our Saviour's Ascension.* II. *To the Council of Jerusalem, in the year 49.* III. *He goes to Antioch, where He is reproved by St. Paul for Dissimulation.* IV. *His Travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome.* V. *The Time of his Death.* VI. *Several Things, hitherto omitted, or but lightly touched upon.* 1. *His Episcopate at Antioch.* 2. *his having been five and twenty Years Bishop of Rome.* 3. *his Children.* 4. *his Wife's*

Wife's Martyrdom. 5. his absconding at Rome. 6. the Manner of his Crucifixion. VII. That he was at Rome, and suffered Martyrdom there.

I. "  HE land of *Palestine*, says (a) *Cave*, at and before the coming of our Blessed Saviour, was distinguished into three several provinces, *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*. This last was divided into the Upper and the Lower. In the Upper, called also *Galilee of the Gentils*, within the division, belonging to the tribe of *Naphtali*, stood *Bethsaida*, formerly an obscure and inconsiderable village, till lately re-edified, (b) and enlarged by *Philip* the Tetrarch, and in honour of *Julia* daughter of *Augustus* called by him *Julias*. It was situated upon the banks of the sea of *Galilee*, called also the sea of *Tiberias*, and the lake of *Gennesareth*, which (c) was about forty furlongs in
H 3 breadth,

His Historie to the Time of our Saviour's Ascension.

(a) *Life of St. Peter. Sect. i.*

(b) *Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 3. al. 2. in.*

(c) *Id. de B. J. l. 3. cap. 10. al. 18.*

breadth, and a hundred in length, and had a wilderneſſe on the other ſide, called the deſert of *Bethſaida*, whither our Saviour uſed often to retire.”

At this place was born (*d*) *Simon*, ſurnamed *Cephas*, or *Petros*, *Petrus*, *Peter*, ſignifying a ſtone, or rock. He was a fiſherman upon the forementioned lake, or ſea : as was alſo, in all probability, his father *Jonas*, *Jonah*, or *John*. He had a brother, named *Andrew*. Which was the oldeſt of the two, is not certain. For concerning this there were different opinions among the ancients. *Epiphanius* (*e*) ſuppoſed *Andrew* to be the elder. But according to *Chryſoſtom* (*f*) *Peter* was the firſt-born. So likewiſe (*g*) *Bede*, and (*h*) *Caffian*, who even makes *Peter*’s age the ground of his precedence among

(*d*) *John* i. 44.

(*e*) *H.* 51. num. xvii.

(*f*) *Hom. in Matt.* 58. al. 59. *T.* 7. p. 586. *D.*

(*g*) *In Evang. Joann. cap. i.*

(*h*) Interroganti ergo Domino Jeſu Chriſto, quem eum crederent . . . reſpondit primus Apoſtolorum *Petrus*, unus utique pro omnibus. Idem enim unius habuit reſponſio, quod habeat [*f.* habebat] omnium fides. Sed primum debuit reſpondere, ut idem eſſet ordo reſponſionis, qui erat honoris, et ipſe antecederet confeſſione, qui antecedebat aetate. *Caffian. de Incarn.* 1. 3. cap. 12. ap. *Bib. P. P. Tom. 7.*

mong the Apostles. And *Jerome* himself has expressed himself in the like manner, saying, "that (*i*) the keys were given to all the Apostles alike, and the Church was built upon all of them equally. But for preventing dissension precedence was given to one. *John* might have been the person. But he was too young. And *Peter* was preferred upon account of his age."

St. *John* (*k*) has informed us of the first acquaintance of *Simon Peter* with Jesus: to whom he was introduced by his brother *Andrew*. *He findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him: We have found the Messiah. And he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said: Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas. Thou shalt be called Cephas.*

H 4

Un-

(*i*) At dicis, super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia: licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni coelorum accipiant: et ex aequo super eos Ecclesiae fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio. Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? Aetati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat: ne adhuc adolescens, ac pene puer, progressae aetatis hominibus praeferretur. *Adv. Jovin. l. i. T. 4. p. 168.*

(*k*) *Ch. i. 35. . . . 42.*

Undoubtedly, they had been from the begining among those, who are said to have *looked for the kingdom of God, and waited for redemption in Israel.* Andrew had received Jesus as the Messiah. And his brother *Simon* readily concurred in the same belief and profession. They had heard *John*, and, as may be supposed, had been baptised by him, as all Jews in general were. Being from his testimonie, and by personal conversation with Jesus convinced, that he was the Messiah, it is likely, that henceforward they often came to him, and heard him, and saw some of the miracles done by him. We may take it for granted, that they were present at the miracle at *Cana in Galilee*: it being expressly said, that *Jesus and his disciples were invited to the marriage-solemnity in that place.* John ii. 1. 2. It is also said ver. 11. *This begining of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glorie.* And his disciples believed on him: that is, were confirmed in the persua-sion, that he was the Messiah.

The call of *Andrew* and *Peter* to a stated attendance on Jesus is recorded by (1) three Evan-

(1) *Matt. iv. 18. . . . 20. Mark i. 16. . . . 18. Luke v. 1. . . . 9.*

Evangelists. Their father, *Jonas*, seems to have been dead. For there is no mention of him, as there is of *Zebedee*, when his two sons were called. It is only said of *Andrew* and *Peter*, that when Jesus called them, *they left their nets, and followed him*. At that time Jesus made them a magnificent promise. *Follow me*, said he, *and I will make you fishers of men*. “In time you will be qualified “by me to gain men, and to recover them, “in great numbers, from ignorance and error, follie and vice, and form them to “just sentiments in religion, and the practice of virtue.”

From this time they usually attended on our Lord. And (*m*) when he compleated the number of his Apostles, they were put among them.

Having before writ the historie of St. *John* at large, I need not be so particular in that of *Peter*, because these two Apostles were much together. However, I intend to take notice of the most remarkable things in his life, especially after our Saviour's ascension.

Simon

(*m*) *Matt. x. 1. . . . 4. Mark iii 13. . . . 19. Luke vi. 12. . . . 16.*

Simon Peter was married, when called by our Lord to attend upon him. And upon occasion of that alliance, as it seems, had removed from *Bethsaida* to *Capernaum*, where was his wife's familie. Upon (n) her mother our Saviour in a very gracious manner wrought a great miracle of healing.

And I suppose, that when our Lord *left Nazareth, and came and dwelled at Capernaum*, (as mentioned *Matt. iv. 13.*) he made *Peter's house* (o) the place of his usual abode, when he was in those parts. I think, we have a proof of it in the historie just taken notice of. When Jesus came out of the synagogue at *Capernaum*, he *entred into Simon's house*. *Luke iv. 38.* Comp. *Mark i. 29.* Which is well paraphrased by *Dr. Clarke*: "Now when Jesus came out of the synagogue, he went home to *Peter's house*." And there it was that the people resorted unto him in the evening. *Luke iv. 40.* *Matt. viii. 16.* *Mark i. 32...34.*

Another proof of this we have in a historie, which is in *St. Matthew* only. ch. xvii.

(n) *Matt. viii. 14. 15.* *Mark. i. 29....31.* *Luke iv. 38. 39.*

(o) It is called *Peter's house*. *Matt. viii. 14.* *Simon's house*. *Luke iv. 38.* *the house of Simon and Andrew*. *Mark i. 29.*

xvii. 24. . . . 27. of our Lord's paying at *Capernaum* the tribute-money for the use of the temple, and his directing *Peter*, when he had found a piece of money, in the manner there prescribed, to pay it for both of them. The text is to this purpose. *And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the tribute-money, came to Peter, and said: Doth not your master pay tribute? He saith: Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him. . . .* The begining of that account at ver. 24. is thus paraphrased by Dr. Clarke. "Now when they were
" come home to *Capernaum*, where Jesus
" used to dwell, the officers, appointed to
" gather the yearly offering for the service of
" the temple, came to *Peter*."

After the miracle of the five loaves, and two fishes, *straitway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him to the other side, whilst he sent the multitudes away.* In their passage they met with a contrarie wind. *In the fourth watch of the night, near morning, Jesus came toward them, walking on the sea.* And there not being yet light enough, to know who he was, they were affrighted, thinking it had been an apparition, and cried out for fear.

Jesus

Jesus then spake to them, and they knew him. After which follows a particular concerning *Peter*, related by St. *Matthew* only. "*Peter (p) answered him, and said: Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And he said: Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus. But when he saw the sea boisterous, he was afraid. And beginning to sink, he cried, saying: Lord, save me. And immediatly Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him. . . . And when he was come into the ship, the wind ceased. Peter at first presumed too much upon the strength of his faith, and was forward to shew his zeal. However, this must in the end have been of use to confirm his faith. He had here great and sensible experience of the knowledge, as well as the power of Jesus. As soon as his faith failed, our Lord suffered him to sink. And upon his calling for help, Jesus immediatly stretched out his hand, and saved him.*"

The next day our Lord preached in the synagogue at *Capernaum*, as related by St. *John*. ch. vi. 24. . . . 65. where many, who

ex-

(p) *Matt. xiv. 28. . . . 31.*

expected from the Messiah a worldly kingdom, were offended at his discourse. And it is said ver. 66. . . . 69. *From that time many of his disciples, who had hitherto followed him, and professed faith in him, went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve: Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we know, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*

Some time after this, when our Lord had an opportunity of private conversation with the disciples, he inquired of them, what men said of him, and then, whom they thought him to be? *Simon Peter answered, and said: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Matt. xvi. 13. . . 16. So far likewise in Mark viii. 27. . . 29. and Luke ix. 18. . . 20. Then follows in Matthew ver. 17. . . 19. And Jesus answered, and said unto him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jona. For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. That is: "It is not a partial affection for me, thy master, nor a fond and "inconsiderate regard to the judgements of
"others,*

“ others, for whom thou hast a respect, that
 “ has induced thee to think thus of me.
 “ But it is a just persuasion, formed in thy
 “ mind by observing the great works, which
 “ thou hast seen me do by the power of God,
 “ in the confirmation of my mission and doc-
 “ trine.” *And I say unto thee: Thou art
 Peter, and upon this rock will I build my
 Church. . . . And I will give unto thee the
 keys of the kingdom of heaven.* By which
 many interpreters suppose, that (A) our
 Lord promised to *Peter*, that he should have
 the honour of beginning to preach the gos-
 pel, after his resurrection, to Jews and Gen-
 tils, and of receiving them into the Church.
 If so, that is personal. Nevertheless, what
 follows: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind on
 earth,*

(A) Dr. Clarke is very singular in his paraphrase of that text. Matt. xvi. 18. “ You shall be the first preacher of my true religion to the Gentil world.” And ver. 19. “ You shall first open the kingdom of the Messiah, and make the first publication of the gospel to the Gentils.” Upon both verses also referring to Acts. x. When I first observed this, I was surprised. Nor could I see the ground of it. But now I guess, that he confined this personal privilege to *Peter*’s first preaching to Gentils at the house of *Cornelius*, because *Peter* was then alone, and none of the Apostles were there with him: whereas, after the pouring out of the Holy Ghost, all the Apostles were present with him, as it is said, Acts. ii. 14. *But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lift up his voice. . .*

earth, shall be bound in heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. This, I say, must have been the privilege of all the Apostles. For the like things are expressly said to them. Luke xxii. 29. 30. John xx. 21. 22. Moreover, all the Apostles concurred with *Peter* in the first preaching both to Jews and Gentils. As he was president in the college of the Apostles, it was very fit, and a thing of course, that he should be primarily concerned in the first opening of things. The confession, now particularly before us, was made by him. But it was in answer to a question, that had been put to all. And he spoke the sense of all the Apostles, and in their name. I suppose this to be as true in this instance, as in the other, before taken notice of, which is in John vi. 68. 69.

In the account, which St. *John* has given of our Saviour's washing the disciples feet, *Peter's* modestie and fervour are conspicuous. John xiii. 1. 10.

When (q) the Jewish officers were about to apprehend our Lord, *Peter* having a sword,
drew

(q) *John* xviii. 10. 11. *Matt.* xxvi. 51....54. *Mark* xiv. 46. 47. *Luke* xxii. 50. 51.

drew it, and smote a servant of the High-Priest, and cut off his right ear. Our Lord having checked *Peter*, touched the servant's ear, and healed him. So great is Jesus every where!

They that laid hold of Jesus, led him away to the house of *Caiaphas*. The rest of the disciples now forsook their Master, and fled. *But Peter followed him afar off unto the High-Priest's palace, and went in, and sat with the servants, to see the end.* Here *Peter* thrice disowned his Lord, peremptorily denying, that he was one of his disciples, or had any knowledge of him, as related by (r) all the Evangelists. For which he soon after humbled himself, and wept bitterly.

We do not perceive, that *Peter* followed our Lord any farther, or that he at all attended the crucifixion. It is likely, that he was under too much concern of mind, to appear in public, and that he chose retirement, as most suitable to his present temper, and circumstance.

On

(r) *Matt.* xxvi. 51....71. *Mark* xix. 53....72. *Luke* xxii. 55....62. *John* xviii. 15....27.

On (*s*) the first day of the week, early in the morning, when *Marie Magdalen*, and other women came to the sepulchre, bringing the sweet spices, which they had prepared, *they saw an angel, who said unto them: Be not affrighted. Ye seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here. For he is risen. . . . Go quickly, and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead: as in Matthew. Tell his disciples, and Peter, as in Mark. And behold, he goes before you into Galilee. That was a most gracious disposal of Providence, to support the disciples, Peter in particular, under their great affliction.*

Our Lord first shewed himself to *Marie Magdalen*, and afterwards to some other women. On the same day likewise, on which he arose from the dead, he shewed himself to *Peter*, though the circumstances of this appearance are no where related. However it is evident from Luke xxiv. 33. 34. For when the two disciples, who had been at *Emmaus*, returned to *Jerusalem*, they found the eleven gathered together, and those
that

(*s*) Matt. xxviii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx.

that were with them, saying : The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared unto Simon. That must be the same appearance, which is mentioned by St. Paul. 1 Cor. xv. 5. and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. And it has been observed, that as Marie Magdalen was the first woman, so (t) Peter was the first man, to whom Jesus shewed himself after he was risen from the dead.

In the xxi. chapter of St. *John's* Gospel are some appearances of our Lord to his disciples, in which *Peter* is greatly interested, to which the attentive reader is referred. Our Lord there graciously affords *Peter* an opportunity of making a threefold profession of love for him. Which he accepts, and renews to him the apostolical commission, and as it were re-instates him in his high and important office: requiring him, as the best testimonie of love for his Lord, to feed his sheep with fidelity and tenderesse. And notwithstanding his late unsteadiness, our Lord encourageth this disciple to hope, that in his future conduct he would set an example of resolution and fortitude under great difficulties, and at length glorify God by his death,

(t) ... ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδράσι τέτω πρώτω τῷ μέλιστα αὐτὸν ποθεῖντι ἰδέν. *Chrys. in 1. Cor. hom. 38. Tom. x.*

death, in the service, to which he had been appointed.

As we have now proceeded in the history of this Apostle to the time of our Lord's ascension, it may be worth the while to look back, and observe those things in the Gospels, which imply his peculiar distinction, or at least are honorable to him.

By *Mark* ch. v. 37. and *Luke* viii. 51. we are assured, that *Peter* was one of the three disciples, whom our Lord admitted to be present at the raising of *Jairus's* daughter. That particular is not mentioned by *Matthew*. ch. ix. 18. . . . 26. From all the first three Evangelists we know, that *Peter* was one of the three, whom our Lord took up with him into the mountain, where he was gloriously transformed. *Matt.* xvii. 1. *Mark* ix. 2. *Luke* ix. 28. He was also one of the three, whom our Lord took with him apart from the other disciples, when he retired to prayer, a little before his last sufferings. As we know from *Matt.* xxvi. 37. *Mark* xiv. 23. But that particular is omitted by *Luke* ch. xxii. 39. . . 46.

And if it might not be reckoned too minute and particular, I would observe some

things of this kind, mentioned by one Evangelist only.

There are several such things deserving notice in St. *Matthew*. 1. In the catalogue of the Apostles *Matthew* only (*u*) calls *Peter* chief, or *the first*. ch. x. 2. He only has the account of *Peter's* desiring to come to Christ upon the water, and what follows. ch. xiv. 28. . . . 31. 3. He alone has recorded what our Lord said to *Peter*, when he gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. ch. xiv. 16. . . . 19. 4. He only relates our Lord's paying the tribute-money for *Peter*. ch. xvii. 24. . . . 31. 5. He likewise says, that after *Peter* had denied Christ, *he wept bitterly*. ch. xxvi. 75.

In St. *Mark* are chiefly two things to be observed, as honorable to *Peter*. The first is, that he was one of the four Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it. Mark xiii. 3. The other is, that in the message, sent by the angel to the disciples after our Lord's resurrection, *Peter* is particularly named. ch. xvi. 7.

In

(u) Πρῶτος σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος πέτρος.

In St. *Luke* are these things remarkable. First, that when our Lord warned *Peter* of his danger, he also assured him, *he had prayed for him, that his faith might not fail.* Luke xxii. 31. 32. Secondly, we perceive from St. *Luke*, that our Lord appeared to *Peter* in particular on the day of his resurrection, though the circumstances of that appearance are not recorded. ch. xxiv. 33. 34.

In St. *John's* Gospel are divers things honorable to *Peter*. 1. The profession of faith in Christ, related John vi. 67... 69. 2. *Peter's* remarkable humility, expressed in an unwillingness, that Jesus should wash his feet, with our Lord's particular discourse to him. ch. xiii. 6... 10. 3. *Peter's* zeal in cutting off the ear of the High-Priest's servant is related by other Evangelists. But St. *John* only mentions *Peter* by name. ch. xviii. 10. 4. It is, I think, honorable to *Peter*, that when he and *John* went together to the sepulchre, *John*, only *sloping down*, looked in: But *Peter* went in, and searched the sepulchre. After which *John* also went in. ch. xx. 4... 8. 5. St. *John* only mentions *Peter's* faith and zeal in *casting himself into the sea*, to go to Christ. ch. xxi. 7. 6. Our Lord's discourse with *Peter* concerning

his love to him, and his particular repeated charge, to *feed his sheep*. ver. 15. . . 17. 7. Our Lord's predicting to *Peter* his martyrdom, and the manner of it. ver. 18. 19.

It is observable, that *Matthew* and *John*, the two Apostles, have mentioned more of these prerogatives of *Peter*, than the other two Evangelists. We may hence conclude, that the Apostles, when illuminated by the Spirit with the knowledge of the true nature of Christ's kingdom, were quite free from envie, and that *Peter* was not assuming and arrogant among his brethren.

It may be here observed likewise, that as our sacred historians were not envious, so neither were they fond and partial. The several advantages and virtues of *Peter* are recorded by some only. But his fault in denying Christ, when under prosecution, is related by all.

. . . to the
Council of
Jerusalem
in the year
49.

II. In a short time after our Lord's ascension *Peter*, as president in the college of the Apostles, proposed, that in the room of *Judas* another should be chosen out of the men that had accompanied them during the time that Jesus had been with them. And when two such had been nominated, and they had

by

by prayer appealed to God, *who knows the hearts of all men, the lot fell upon Matthias. And he was numbred with the eleven Apostles.* Acts. i. 15. . . . 26.

I have here, and elsewhere, spoken of *Peter*, as presiding among the Apostles, or having a primacie of order. For it appears in what has been just mentioned, and in other things related afterwards. And it is observable, that in all the catalogues of the twelve Apostles *Peter* is named first, though there is some variety in the order of the names of the other Apostles. I might add, that (x) where ever the three disciples, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, are mentioned together, *Peter* is always put first, though there is a variety in the order of the names of those two brothers, *James* and *John*, sons of *Zebedee*. He is also first placed, where (y) four are named, *Andrew* being added to them. And likewise where (z) only he and *John* are mentioned. There is an exception in Gal. ii. 9. where the order is *James*, *Ce-*
I 4 *phas*,

(x) See Mark v. 37. and Luke viii. 51. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. Matt. xxvi. 37. Mark xiv. 33.

(y) See Mark xiii. 3.

(z) Luke xxii. 8. Acts iii. 1. iv. 13. 19. viii. 14.

phas, and *John*. The reason of which I take to be, that (a) *James*, there mentioned, then presided in the church of *Jerusalem*, where *Paul* then was. I place below (b) the thoughts of *Basnage* concerning this point, who speaks to the like purpose: without denying the equal dignity of the Apostles,

(a) See before. p. 20.

(b) Ordinis primatum quod attinet, illum a Petro abjudicari non posse censemus, si qua fides evangelio. Neque ulla ratio assignari potest, cur Apostolorum in indiculo a tribus Evangelistis exhibito, Petrus semper ordinem ducat. Quippe solâ necessitate numerandi non scribitur Matthæo *primus Petrus*: (sic enim sequens secundus dici debuisset:) sed quia in divino hoc collegio praesidem agebat. Eo quidem munere functum fuisse, ubique Scriptura testatur. Aliorum fane Apostolorum ordinem mutavit Lucas in Actis, primum tamen Petro locum servavit: Petrus, Jacobus, Joannes. Quid, nonne praesidis functio fuit, surgere in medio discipulorum, eosque monere, ut in proditoris Judæ locum alium sufficerent Apostolum? Si ordinis causâ non praeerat Apostolis, cur Petrus surgens cum undecim Judæos miraculum linguarum stupentes alloquitur. . . . Cur etiam dum Joannis erat in comitatu Petrus, et claudum sanandum alloquitur, et Senatum Hierosolymitanum compellat, et Simoni Mago minitatur? Rationis est quidem et consuetudinis, ut legatorum primus orationem habeat, quomodo Paulus, qui Barnabam eminebat, praeibat in loquendo. Ut ad pauca redeamus, is Petro collatus honor est, ut primus et in Judæis, et in Gentibus, Ecclesiae fundamenta jaceret. Qui longe maximus honos principem Apostolorum decuit, nec a praesidis munere divelli potest. Annon nobiliores Apostolatus functiones honoratori competebant? *Basnag. ann. 31. num. lxxv.*

or ascribing to *Peter* any jurisdiction over them. For which there is not any the least foundation either in the Gospels, or the Acts.

On the day of Pentecost, next ensuing, the promised gift of the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles and their companie. And upon this occasion *Peter*, *standing up with the eleven*, preached to a great number of people assembled about the Apostles, and asserted the resurrection of Jesus, and with such force, that about three thousand were converted, and baptised. Acts. ii. 14. . . . 47.

Afterwards *Peter* and *John* healed a poor man at the temple, who had been lame from his birth, a well known person, forty years of age. And many being gathered about them, *Peter* made an affecting discourse, whereby many were awakened, and convinced. And in a short time after this, the number of believers at *Jerusalem* was (B) *about five thousand*. ch. iii. and iv. 4. But the

(B) How that *five thousand* in Acts. iv. 4. ought to be understood, was shewn Vol. xi. p. 201. 202. I shall now add here the words of *Sueur*. Ainsi croissoit l'Eglise Chretienne parmi les Juifs. Et elle se montoit bien alors à cinq mille personnes. A. C. 35. *Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire. Vol. i. p. 133.*

the Jewish Priests and Rulers were much offended. And whilst *Peter* and *John* were speaking to the people, their officers came, and laid hold on them. And it being then evening, they put them in prison, till the next day. On the morrow therefore they were brought before the Council. Having been examined, they were at length dismissed, with a charge, not to preach any more in the name of Jesus, and were severely threatened, if they did. ch. iv. 1. . . . 22.

The number of believers being much increased, and many being in low circumstances, *some who were possessed of houses, or lands, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostles feet. And distribution was made to every man, according as he had need.* But a certain man, named *Ananias*, and *Sapphira*, his wife, when they had sold a possession, brought a part of the price, keeping back the rest, though they declared it to be the whole price. For this they were reprov'd by *Peter*, and were charged with having lied to God himself, who acted by the Apostles. At his reproof *Ananias* and *Sapphira* were both struck dead by the immediate hand of God in a small space of time; one after the other.

other. ch. iv. 31. . . . v. 1. . . . 11. We have here, as seems to me, a proof, that *Peter* now presided in the assemblie of the Apostles, and the whole church at *Jerusalem*.

And, after this, by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people . . . insomuch that they brought forth the sick in the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits. And they were healed every one. ch. v. 12. . . . 16.

I put this in the historie of *St. Peter*, as he has a share in it. But I do not think, that all the miracles here spoken of were wrought by his hands, or by his shadow passing by. It seems, that many of these miracles were wrought by other Apostles, as hinted, or expressly said, at the begining of the citation, in ver. 12. In a word, there were now miracles wrought at *Jerusalem* in great numbers by all and every one of the Apostles. This may be also farther argued hence, that hereupon all the Apostles were taken

taken up, as is said ver. 17. 18. *Then the High-Priest rose up, and all they that were with him, and were filled with indignation. And they laid their hands on the Apostles, and put them in the common prison.* The event may be seen in what follows. ch. v. 17. . . . 42. However, I am willing to allow, that there were no miracles wrought by the shadow of any of the Apostles, except *Peter's*. This (c) seems to be most agreeable to *St. Luke's* expressions.

Upon the death of *Stephen* there arose a great persecution against the church that was at *Jerusalem*: insomuch that all the believers in general were scattered abroad throughout the regions of *Judea* and *Samaria*, except the Apostles. Then *Philip*, one of the Seven, went down to *Samaria*, and preached *Christ* to them. And many of the people there

(c) Omnibus accurate perpenſis, illorum opinionis magis ſumus, qui ſoli Petro, id auctoritatis conceſſum fuiſſe putant, ut ipſius umbrâ aegroti a morbis ſuis recrearentur. Neque id obſcure Lucas indicat. Praemiſſis enim Apoſtolorum prodigiis, ſubinde hoc addit. *In plateas efferebant aegrotos et ponebant in lectis, ut venientis Petri vel umbra inumbraret aliquem eorum.* Cur non dixit, ut praetereuntium Apoſtolorum vel umbra, ſi facultatem ejuſmodi a Chriſto naſta fuit? &c. *Beſnag. Ann. 34. n. xviii.*

there believed. Now when the Apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard, that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, that they might confer upon them the gift of the Holy Ghost. Which they did by prayer, and laying on of their hands. Here Peter reproved Simon of Samaria, as he is called: who himself was a believer for a while, but had given proofs of insincerity. These two Apostles then returned to Jerusalem, and in their way thither preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans. ch. viii. 1 25.

St. Paul, who informs us of his return to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, has assured us, that he then saw Peter and James, and no other of the Apostles. Gal. i. 18. 19. And St. Luke having given the historie of St. Paul's opposition to the disciples, and of his conversion, and return from Damascus to Jerusalem, says, that Barnabas brought him to the Apostles. Acts. ix. 1 30. These two accounts are easily reconciled. Paul saw only Peter and James. But they received him in the name, and with the approbation of all the Apostles, and thus he had communion with them.

It

It follows in St. *Luke's* historie. Acts. ix. 31. *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. And walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* This rest, as was formerly shewn, commenced in the year 40. and probably continued a year, or more. This season, as we may well suppose, was improved by all the Apostles, and by *Peter*, in particular. Of whom it is said, that he passed through all parts of the countrey, *and came down also to the saints that dwelt at Lydda.* Here, in the name of Jesus Christ, he healed *Eneas*, who had the palsey, and had kept his bed eight years. Whilst he was in that place, a Christian woman, named *Tabitha*, died at *Joppa*, which was not far off. The disciples therefore sent to *Peter*, desiring him without delay to come to them. Which he did, and there restored her to life. *And he tarried many days at Joppa, with one Simon, a tanner.* ch. ix. 32. . . . 43.

Whilst *Peter* was there, *Cornelius*, of *Cesarea by the sea-side*, (the city, where the Roman Governour had his residence) a Centurion, a worshiper of God, but not of the house of *Israel*, nor a Jewish profelyte, had

a vi-

a vision. Wherein he was directed by an angel, to send to *Joppa*, for *Simon*, whose surname was *Peter* : from whom he would receive farther information in the things of religion. When the vision was over, he called two of his servants, and a pious soldier, and sent them to *Joppa*. The day after, as they drew near the city, *Peter* went up to the top of the house, to pray, about the sixth hour of the day, or noon. There he fell into a transe, or extasie, and had a vision. A vessel descended, wherein were all sorts of living creatures, wild and tame, clean and unclean. *And there came a voice to him, saying : Kill and eat. But Peter said : Not so, Lord. For I have never eat any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time : What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common. . . . While Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said unto him : Behold, three men seek thee. Arise therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing. For I have sent them. . . . On the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa, six in number, accompanied him. The next day they arrived at Cesarea, and entred into the house of Cornelius, where*
were

were also many others, his relations, and intimate friends, whom *Cornelius* had invited to come thither. *Peter said unto them: Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a Jew, to keep companie, or to come unto one of another nation. But God has shewn me, that I should not call any man common or unclean.* ... Whilst *Peter* was preaching, and speaking to them the things concerning *Jesus Christ*, and before he had finished, *the Holy Ghost* fell on all them that heard the word. And they of the circumcision, which believed, were astonished, as many as came with *Peter*, because that on the Gentils also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God. . . . *Peter therefore commanded them to be baptised in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.* ch. x.

Thus the door of faith, or the kingdom of heaven, or of the Messiah, was opened to Gentils, and they were received into the Church of God. And, if I may say it, God now cleansed all Gentils, and shewed with full evidence, and divine attestations, that all men, of every nation, who became worshippers of God, and believed in *Jesus*, were accepted of him, as his people, and the mem-
bers

bers of his Church, and in the way of salvation, without circumcision, or taking upon them the observation of the rituals of the law of *Moses*.

While *Peter* tarried at *Cesarea*, the *Apostles* and brethren, that were in *Judea*, heard that the *Gentils* also had received the word of God. And when *Peter* was come up to *Jerusalem*, they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying : *Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them*. But *Peter* gave them an account of the transaction from the beginning, and all were satisfied. When they heard those things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying : *Then hath God also to the Gentils granted repentance unto life*.

An opinion has obtained among Christians in late ages, that *Cornelius* was a profelyte of the gate. Which opinion is founded upon a supposition, that there were among the Jews two sorts of profelytes : some called profelytes of the covenant, or of righteousness, who were circumcised : and others called profelytes of the gate : who, though they were not circumcised, observed some things, not obligatorie in themselves, as is supposed, in order to facilitate commerce be-

tween the Jews and them. What those things were, or are supposed to be, I do not now inquire.

However, for clearing up this matter I would observe, that there was but one sort of profelytes among the Jews: and that *Cornelius* was not a profelyte, but a Gentil.

First. There was but one sort of profelytes among the Jews. These were circumcised. So they became Jews by religion, and were admitted to eat the passover, and to partake of all religious privileges, as the Jews by descent did. They were called *strangers*, or *profelytes within the gates*, and *sojourners*, as they were allowed to dwell, or sojourn among the people of *Israel*. And they were so called, because they could not possess land. For according to the law of *Moses*, all the land of *Canaan* was to be given to the twelve tribes of *Israel*, the descendents of the Patriarch *Jacob*. Which enables us to discern the propriety of the expression, just mentioned.

What has been now said, may be illustrated by some texts. Which, though well known, shall be alleged here.

Exod. xii. 48. *And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the*

the Lord, let all his males be circumcised. And then let him come near, and keep it. And he shall be as one born in the land. 49. One law shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger that sojourneth among you.

Lev. xvii. 8. Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers, which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt-offering, or sacrifice . . . ver. 12 . . . children of Israel, neither any stranger, that sojourneth among you. The same again ver. 13. and ver. 15. One of your own countrey, or a stranger.

Numb. ix. 14. And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover to the Lord . . . ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land.

Numb. xv. 15. One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you . . . as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. 16. One law, and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger, that sojourneth among you.

In all these places by stranger, and stranger, that sojourneth among you, I suppose to

be meant men circumcised, according to the law of *Moses*.

Perhaps, it may be here asked. Could none then, dwell among the *Israelites* in the land of *Canaan*, but proselytes, or circumcised men? To which I answer. It seems to me, that no other had the privilege of a settled abode, or residence there, that is, to sojourn in the land. However, I think, there must have been an exception for travellers, passing through the countrey, even though they were idolaters, and for some, whose traffick was needfull, and therefore allowed of. As *Patrick* says upon Deut. xiv. 21. "There were some called *Nocherim*, which we here translate *aliens*: who were mere Gentils, and not suffered to have an habitation among them, but only to come and go in their traffick with them."

And, if I mistake not, an argument of the Apostle may be hence illustrated. Eph. ii. 13. *But now, in Christ Jesus, ye, who some time were far off, are made nigh, very nigh, even to a coalescence, by the blood of Christ.* ver. 19. *Now therefore ye are no more strangers, and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.* The Apostle

Apostle alludes to the state of things in the Jewish Commonwealth. *Now therefore*, says he, *ye are no more strangers, and foreigners.* Those are not terms of distance, as they seem to be in our translation, and as some have supposed, but of nearness. They are expressive of all the favour and privilege, which could be vouchsafed to any, not of the natural seed of *Israel*, before the manifestation of the gospel. "*Now (d) therefore ye are no longer guests.* Such you might be, and be well, and civilly entertained (c) for a while, though you were aliens : *and sojourners*, as the Jewish proselytes were, who might live in the country, but had few privileges, they not being allowed to possess land, nor to have any share in the government of it : *but ye are fellow-citizens with the saints* : you have equal rights of citizenship with the people, and natives of the country : *and are God's domestics.* You are brought into the court

K 3

and

(d) Ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστέ ξένοι, καὶ πάροιχοι, ἀλλὰ συμπολίται τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

(c) The Greek word ξένος, like the Latin word, *hospes*, signifies both a *host*, and a *guest*, an entertainer, and him that is entertained, et qui domo suscipit, et qui suscipitur. In Rom. xvi. 23 it is used in the former, here in the latter sense.

and familie of the King of the countrey, and are admitted to his presence, and to attend upon his person." The whole of this is much the same with what is said 1 Pet. ii. 9. 10. and Rev. i. 8. I place below a Latin version (*e*) of this text, which appears to me to be right.

Profelyte is a word of Greek original, equivalent to stranger, long since become a technical word, denoting a convert to the Jewish religion, or a Jew by religion.

In the fourth commandment they are called *thy stranger within thy gates*. Ex. xx. 14. and Deut. v. 4.

According to the Jewish way of reckoning, agreeably to the law of *Moses*, there were three sorts of men in the world: *Israelites*, called also *home-born*, or natives: *strangers within their gates*, and *aliens*. So Deut. xiv. 21. *Ye shall not eat any thing that dieth of itself. Thou shalt give it to the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it: or thou mayest sell it to an alien.* Or, otherwise, there were two sorts of men, circumcised and uncircumcised, Jews and Gentils, or Heathens.

A pro-

(*e*) Nempe igitur non amplius estis hospites, et inquilini, sed concives sanctorum, ac domestici Dei.

A proselyte, as before said, is a man circumcised according to the law of *Moses*, or a Jew by religion. This is the sense of the word in all the texts of the New Testament, where it is used. Matt. xxiii. 15. *Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte.* Acts ii. 10. *Jews and proselytes.* Acts vi. 5. *Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch.* xiii. 43. *religious proselytes.* There never was any doubt about preaching to these, and receiving them into the Church. Such were among St. *Peter's* hearers of his first sermon. And one such person at least was among the seven Deacons in the church of *Jerusalem*.

In this sense the word is always understood by ancient Christian writers. Says *Bede* in his Exposition of the second chapter of the Acts: "They (*f*) called those proselytes, that is, strangers, who being of Gentil original, had embraced circumcision, and judaism." To the like purpose (*g*) another

K 4

Latin

(*f*) *Judaei quoque et proselyti.*] Proselytos, id est, advenas, nuncupabant eos, qui de Gentibus originem ducentes, circumcisionem et judaismum eligere malebant. Non solum ergo, inquit, [*f. inquit,*] qui naturâ suâ Judaei ex diverso orbe convenerant: verum et ii, qui de praepotio nati, eorum adhaesere ritui. *Bed. Expos. in Act. Ap. cap. ii.*

(*g*) Proselytus dicebatur Graece advena: quia de alia gente

Latin writer, of the ninth centurie, in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew's Gospel. So likewise (b) *Theodoret*, and (i) *Euthymius*. Nor do I believe, that the notion of two sorts of Jewish profelytes can be found in any Christian writer before the fourteenth centurie, or later.

Cornelius is not called a profelyte in the New Testament. It is said of him, that (k) he was a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house: that is, he was a truly good man. What is there said of him is only his personal character. Here is not any thing, denoting a religious denomination, as some have thought. And it is plain, that not-

gente ad legem ipsorum convertebatur, ut fuit Jethro, et Achior. Et multa millia virorum fuerunt, qui de Gentibus circumcisi fuerunt, et Deum coeli crediderunt. *Christian. Druibmar. Grammatic. Exp. in Matth. ap. Bib. PP. Tom. 15. p. 156. A.*

(b) Ὅτι ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσελυθότες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς οὐκ νόμους ποθήσαντες πολιτεύεσθαι, τὴν ἀδικὸν παρ' αὐτῶν σφαγὴν ὑπομένοντες προσελύτεις γὰρ τέτεις ἀνόμασε. *Theod. in Ps. xciii. al. xciv. ver. 6. Tom. i. p. 775. Conf. Suid. V. Προσήλυτος.*

(i) Profelytum vero Judaei appellabant, qui ex Gentili effectus fuisset Judaeus. *Euthym. in Ps. xciii. p. 396. ap. Bib. PP. T. 19.*

(k) Εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

notwithstanding his piety, he was an alien. *Peter* would not have conversed with him, if he had not been directed by an express command. The reason is, that there is no appointment in the law of *Moses* for receiving any men into covenant with God, or to communion with his people, but by circumcision: which implied an obligation to obey all the laws of the *Mosaic* institution.

Let us now go over, and observe the most remarkable particulars of this historie.

Cornelius, and his friends, are called *Gentils*. ch. x. 45. xi. 1. and 18. xv. 7. that is, *gojim*, a Hebrew word, very frequent in the Old Testament, and rendred by us *nations*, or *beathen*, or *beathens*. And in our version of the New Testament likewise is several times put *beathen*, instead of *the nations*, or *the gentils*. 2 Cor. xi. 26. Gal. ii. 9. iii. 8.

In the next place we take notice of the vessel let down from heaven, and set before *Peter*. There were in it *all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air*: some of them altogether abominable, and exceeding filthie in the eye of Jews. Hereby are represented the people, who had sent for *Peter*, though pious, because they were

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uncircumcised. But it is likely, that herein are also included, and represented Gentils of all sorts, men of every nation, all men uncircumcised in general, whether worshipers of God, or not. ver. 13. 14. *And there came a voice to him, saying: Arise, Peter, kill, and eat. But Peter said: Not so, Lord. For I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time: What God has cleansed, that call not thou common. This was done thrice. And the vessel was received up again into heaven....*

What God has cleansed, that call not thou common: denoting, that those people, which were most impure in Jewish esteem, were now cleansed, or to be cleansed, and to be received as pure and holy.

Omitting some other things, in the next place we observe *Peter's* addresse at the house of *Cornelius*. ver. 28. *Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew, to (D) keep companie, or to come to a man of another*

(D) “ Κολῶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ. By which words is not to be understood, as if a Jew might have no dealing at all with a Gentil, and traffick with them: for it

was

another nation. The people therefore, to whom Peter had been sent, and among whom he now was, were such, as no Jew might converse with, according to the law of Moses, and their established custom. *A man of another nation: ἄλλοφύλω:* an alien, or foreigner. Jerome observes, that (1) though

was next to impossible to do otherwise, they living, very many of them, in Heathen cities. And Gentils came continually, in the way of trade, to Jerusalem. Neh. xiii. 16. What was unlawfull, was conversing with Gentils in near and close society, as the word *κολλᾶσθαι* signifies, and that especially in these two things, *not to eat with them*, and *not to go into their houses*. And this is that, for which they of the circumcision excepted at Peter upon his return. *Thou comest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them.* ch. xi. 3." So Lightfoot in his Commentarie upon the Acts of the Apostles. Vol. i. p. 844. Where follow other things, relating to this subject, very worthie of observation.

(1) Pro Philisthim semper lxx. alienigenas interpretati sunt, nomen commune pro proprio: quae est hodie gens Palaestinarum, quasi Philistinorum. Hieron. in Is. cap. ii. 6. Tom. 3. p. 24.

Philistaeos autem, ut saepe diximus, Palaestinos significat, quos alienigenas vulgata scribit editio: quum hic non unius gentis, sed omnium ceterarum gentium vocabulum sit. Id. in Is. xiv. 29. p. 116.

Videamus autem, quid Philisthiim, et urbes ejus peccaverint, quos septuaginta semper alienigenas transtulerunt. Ubi-
quumque enim in veteri testamento ἄλλοφύλω, id est, *alienigenas*, legimus, non commune nomen omnium externarum gentium, sed proprie Philisthiim, qui nunc Palaestini vocantur, accipiendi sunt. Id. in Amos. cap. i. ib. p. 1376.

though the Greek word signifies in general a man of another nation; the seventy Translators of the Old Testament constantly made use of it, to denote the *Philistins*, or heathen people of the land of *Palestine*. That observation is repeated by him. And I have transcribed below several of his passages. This character, *an alien*, or *a man of another nation*, satisfies us, that the people, to whom *Peter* was now sent by divine order, had not been before received into the Jewish church, or admitted to communion with them, but were aliens from their commonwealth.

It follows in the same addresse of *Peter*: *But God has shewed me, that I should not call any man common or unclean.* Those expressions are as general and comprehensive, as any that can be used: plainly including all mankind, who now were cleansed, or to be cleansed, and purified by faith, and received into the church of God without circumcision.

Cornelius having declared the occasion of sending for him, *Peter* opened his mouth, and said: *Of a truth, I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.* These expressions are

as general and comprehensive, as the former, including men of all nations, without exception.

The conclusion of *St. Peter's* discourse at the house of *Cornelius* is this: *To him give all the Prophets witnesse, that through his name, who-soever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins.* Which, so far as I am able to perceive, is preaching the gospel as clearly, as ever it was preached by *Paul* himself.

While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word. Or, as *St. Peter* himself expresseth it, rehearsing the matter at *Jerusalem.* ch. xi. 15. *As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on all them, as on us at the beginning.* Whereupon *Peter* ordered them to be baptized, and so received into the Church. And, as he says in the defense of himself: *Forasmuch then, as God gave them the like gift, as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ: what was I that I could withstand God?*

That very extraordinarie manifestation, the coming down of the Holy Ghost immediately from heaven upon these persons, leads us to think, that the transaction at the house of *Cornelius* was a very important thing, and no less, than cleansing the whole Gentile world:

world : or encouraging the preaching of the gospel to them, and receiving them to communion, without the rites of the law. And from this time forward it was so preached to them, as appears from the historie in the Acts.

I suppose, that what I have now said is agreeable to the sense of all Christians in ancient times. Who call *Cornelius* (*m*) the first-fruits of the Gentils, and (*n*) the beginning of the Gentils. And say, that (*o*) in him all Gentils were cleansed and sanctified, and

(*m*) Ex quibus esse arbitror etiam Cornelium illum, qui Caesariensis ecclesiae cum iis cum quibus Spiritum Sanctum meruit accipere, primitiae merito dicitur. Et non solum huius ecclesiae, sed fortassis et omnium gentium primitiae Cornelius appellandus est. Primus enim credidit ex gentibus, et primus Sancto Spiritu repletus est. Et ideo recte primitiae gentium appellabitur. *Origen. in Num. hom. xi. p. 306. T. 2. Bened.*

(*n*) Ὁ πᾶς πῶθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ γίνεται τῶν ἐθνῶν. *Chrys. in Act. Ap. hom. 22. T. 9. p. 180.*

(*o*) Sub Apostolis vero, cum ii, qui in Christum ex circumcisione crediderant, eos qui gentiles erant, dicebanturque praeputium, justificationum gratiae arbitrarentur participes esse non posse, docet B. Apostolus Petrus, quam indiscretus apud Deum uterque sit populus, si in unitatem fidei denuo convenerint. *Cum autem, inquit, coepissem loqui, &c. De Vocatione Gentium. Lib. 2. cap. 18.*

and that (*p*) the living creatures of all kinds, which were in the vessel let down to *Peter*, and held by four corners, represented all Gentils throughout the world.

Many learned men of late times make a great difference between preaching the gospel to what they call *devout gentils*, or *proselytes of the gate*, and *idolatrous gentils*. But I do not perceive, that Christians in ancient times had any notion of this. Nor is there any foundation for it in the New Testament. But all men, uncircumcised, whether worshippers of God, or idolatrous, are called gentils. That *Cornelius*, and his familie, and friends, are called gentils, though pious, has been lately seen. And in almost in-

(*p*) Etenim Ecclesia necdum erat in gentibus. In Judaea crediderunt ex Judaeis, et putabant . . . solos se pertinere ad Christum. Missi sunt Apostoli ad gentes, praedicatum est Cornelio. . . . Discus ille, qui habebat omnia animalia, significabat omnes gentes. Ideo autem quattuor lineis pendeat, quia quattuor sunt partes orbis, unde futuri populi erant. *August. Enarr. in Ps. xcvi. num. 13. Tom. iv.*

Siquidem cum Sanctus Petrus per visionem omne genus animalium, de baptizando Cornelio, ac perinde de omnibus gentibus doceretur, atque ille immundum et indiscretum cibum Judaica observantia recusaret, trina ad eum vox facta sit, dicens: Quae Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris. *Prosper. ep. ad Rufin. cap. vi. ap. Aug. T. x. in Append. Ed. Bened.*

innumerable places of St. *Paul's* epistles the same word is used of such as then were, or had been idolaters.

Nor can I conceive, how there should be an objection against preaching to idolatrous gentils, in order to convert them from idolatrie. It is well known, that the Jewish people were very diligent in making proselytes to their religion. Our Lord himself has taken notice of it. Matt. xxiii. 15. The obstructions given to *Paul* were not owing to his converting men from idolatrie, but to his manner of receiving them. If he had taught, and required them to be circumcised, and keep the law, all had been well. For certain, I think, there could have been no offense taken by any believers from among the Jews, however bigotted. *And I, brethren, says the Apostle to the Galatians, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offense of the crosse ceased.* Gal. v. 11.

These thoughts, which are now proposed to public consideration, are not new. A thorough examination of this point was occasioned by the *Miscellanea Sacra*, which was published in 1725. And in a few years I came to a full determination. Nor have I

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concealed my sentiments. They have been communicated to several. And by some they have been approved.

Nor do I make any question, but that others likewise are of the same opinion. I shall therefore here transcribe a paragraph of a letter of my honored friend, Mr. *Joseph Hallett*, of *Exeter*, received from him in the year 1735. "It is certain fact, says he, that the Scripture never mentions the difference between preaching to devout Gentiles, and idolatrous Gentiles, which some do. The original instruction was : *Go, disciple all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. *Preach the gospel to every creature.* Mark xvi. 5. The order, in which the Apostles were to preach the gospel, was in *Jerusalem, in all Judea, in Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth.* Acts. i. 8. In these, and all other places, *one* and the same character comprehends *all* Gentiles. When *St. Peter* stuck at preaching the gospel to *Cornelius*, the plain reason was, because he was *uncircumcised.* See Acts. xi. 3. Neither he at first, nor they that afterwards quarrelled with him, would have any more hesitated to preach to idolaters, than to *Cornelius.* Only in that case, they

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“ must have begun with proving the unity
 “ of God. Which they had no need to do
 “ in the case of *Cornelius*, since he already
 “ believed it.”

And as I have this opportunity, I shall now communicate to the public some other thoughts of Mr. *Hallett*, relating to the same subject, which I received from him at the same time. “ That the decree in Acts. xv. “ relates to the idolatrous Gentiles in particular, is manifest. Indeed it is demonstrable from ver. 19. where St. *James* “ speaks of those, *who from among the Gentiles are turned to God*. Their being *turned to God* here is the same, as their becoming Christians. They were not turned to God before. And therefore they were (not devout, but) idolatrous Gentiles. They were plainly of the same sort with the *Thessalonians*, who *turned to God from Idols*. 1 Theff. i. 9. who are acknowledged to be idolatrous Gentiles. The same character then will prove, that the others were so too. The same thing is demonstrable from ver. 17. For the expression, *all the Gentiles*, can never be restrained to a few profelytes of the gate. Farther, the letter of the church of *Jerusalem* was directed

though no such thing has been found among his papers. And in his general Introduction to the first epistle of St. *Peter* Dr. *Doddridge* freely declares, “that there is no sufficient ground to suppose, that there ever were any such persons, as Profelytes of the gate.” And he thinks, “that what he has suggested in his notes upon the Acts may convince an attentive reader.” And indeed I am of the same opinion concerning what he has said in those notes. For which reason I do not so much regret the losse of the Dissertation, as otherwise I should.

Says *Sueur*, speaking of St. *Peter*’s vision of the sheet: “God (*r*) thereby shewed unto his servant, that thenceforward he would have all the people of the world, without exception, called to partake in his gracious covenant in his son Jesus Christ, and to the knowledge of salvation by him.” That it was so understood by the primitive Christians, we have lately seen. And that this whole transaction was so understood by the Apostles,

(*r*) Et puisque Dieu rompoit cette separation, il monroit à son serviteur, que de là en avant il vouloit appeller indifféremment tous les peuples de la monde à son alliance de grace en son fils Jesus Christ, et à sa salutaire connoissance. *J. Sueur. Hist. de l'Eglise, &c. A. C. 41. Tom. i. p. 165.*

Apostles, and by the Evangelists, their fellow-laborers, is manifest from the sequel of the historie in the book of the Acts.

For removing difficulties, and fully clearing up this point, it may be needfull to consider that text. Gal. ii. 1. 2. *Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel, which I preach among the Gentils, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain.*

Some * who contend for the supposition of two sorts of proselytes among the Jews, and think, that the gospel was preached several years to such as they call *proselytes of the gate*, before it was preached to idolatrous Gentils, and understand the decree of the Council of *Jerusalem* to bind those proselytes only, say, that the conversion of idolatrous Gentils was unknown to the church at *Jerusalem*, when that decree was made, and explain the above cited words after this manner ;

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ner ;

* See *Miscellanea Sacra* in the Preface, and Essay iv. and Dr. Benson's *History of the first planting the Christian Religion*. vol. 2. chap. iii. sect. i. ii. &c.

ner: "That * *Paul* communicated what he had preached to the Gentils, only to *James*, and *Peter*, and *John*, the three renowned Apostles of the circumcision, and that under the seal of the greatest secrecy."

But that cannot be *St. Paul's* meaning. For most, if not all the converts at *Antioch*, must have been idolaters. But, supposing for the present, that they had been devout Gentils; it is universally allowed, that before the controversie arose at *Antioch* about circumcising the Gentils that believed, the gospel had been preached for a good while by *Paul* and *Barnabas* to idolatrous Gentils in *Cyprus*, *Perga*, *Antioch in Pisidia*, *Iconium*, *Lystra*, *Derbe*, and other places: of which a particular account is given *Acts. xiii. xiv.* And presently after, *St. Luke*, relating the journey of *Paul* and *Barnabas* to *Jerusalem*, says *ch. xv. 3. 4.* *And being brought on their way by the church [of Antioch] they passed through Phenice, and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentils. [or Heathens.] And they caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they*
were

* *Miscell. Sacr. Eff. iv. p. 50. Dr. Benson, as before, Vol. 2. p. 52. 2d. ed.*

were received by the church, and by the Apostles, and Elders. And they declared all things, that God had done with them. In which must have been included their preaching not only at *Antioch* in *Syria*, but also in all the other countreys and cities mentioned just before. Of this they gave an account to the church of *Jerusalem* in general, and particularly to the Apostles and Elders.

And Acts. xv. 12. in the Council. Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to *Barnabas* and *Paul*, declaring what miracles God had wrought among the Gentils by them.

And ver. 25. 26. the Apostles and Elders in their Epistle, speaking of *Barnabas* and *Paul*, say, they were men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*. Intending, as may be reasonably supposed, the dangers, and sufferings, which they had met with, when preaching the gospel to idolaters at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, *Iconium*, and *Lystra*, of which *St. Luke* has given an account Acts. xiii. near the end, and ch. xiv. to which *St. Paul* also refers. 2. Tim. iii. 11. These things *Paul* and *Barnabas*, or the brethren that went up with them from *Antioch*, had related to the

church at *Jerusalem*, and to the Apostles and Elders. For we hence plainly perceive, that these things were well known there.

That is St. *Luke's* historie. Let us now observe St. *Paul's* own words in this text. *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem. . . . And I went up by revelation, and communicated to them that gospel, which I preach among the Gentils:* meaning, as seems to me, the church, or the believing brethren there. So say all the best interpreters in general. Dr. *Hammond's* paraphrase is in these words: "And by God's appointment, either
" first signified, or afterwards confirmed to
" me by vision, (such as *Paul* had about several matters,) I went up at this time to
" *Jerusalem*, and gave the church there an
" account of my preaching, and the success of it among the Gentils. This I thought
" fit to do, and yet first to do it to those
" that were the principal men among them." So *Hammond*. To the like purpose *Efstius*, whom †* I transcribe below. *Le Clerc's*
French

†* *Et contuli cum illis evangelium, quod praedico in Gentibus.* Augustinus legit: *Et exposui illis.* Sed intellige, more conferentis. Id enim vult, etiam Hieronómo teste, quod in Graeco

French version is to this purpose. “ *And †† I explained in public to the saints the gospel which I preach among the Gentils: the which I also did in particular to them who were in reputation. And Beaufobre’s: I †* went thither by revelation, and I conferred with the faithfull about the gospel, which I preach among the Gentils. I conferred about it also in particular with those who were most esteemed among them. * **”

It

co est, ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς. Nam sensus est: Communicavi cum illis qui Jerosolymis erant, de evangelio, quod praedico inter Gentes, deque tota ratione doctrinae meae quam tradidi, et etiam nunc trado Gentibus, quarum sum Apostolus. Non itaque discendi studio, quod supra negavit, evangelium suum nunc demum cum Ecclesia Jerosolymitana confert. &c. *Es. ad Gal. ii. 2.*

†† J’y allai. . . et j’expliquai *en public* aux saints l’évangile, que j’annonce parmi les Gentils: ce que je fis aussi en particulier à ceux qui étoient le plus en reputation. *Le Clerc.*

†* Or j’y allai par revelation, et je conferei *avec les fideles* touchant l’évangile, que je prêche parmi les Gentils. J’en conferei en particulier avec les plus celebres entre eux. *Beauf.*

* * The Interpretation given by me of St. Paul’s phrase κατ’ ἰδίαν, as equivalent to *separately, particularly*, may be much confirmed by a passage of Libanius, which I here transcribe. Ἐγὼ δὲ σοι μετὰ τῆς ὅλης πόλεως διδάχαίην. Οἷς γὰρ με καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἐκείνοις ἔσται γράμμασι καὶ πά-
λιν

It follows in the same verse: *Least by any means I should run, or had run in vain.* That is: "This I thought fit to do, in order to secure the successe of my ministrie: for removing obstacles in the way of my preaching for the future, and that the minds of converts already made might not be unsettled. With those views I conferred with the believers at *Jerusalem* in public, and also in private with those who were most esteemed."

Ver. 3. *But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised.* The Apostle's taking such particular notice of *Titus* in a letter to Christians converted from idolatrie, and calling him a *Greek*, lead us to think, that he was originally idolatrous.

Ver. 4. *And that because of false brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage.* 5. *To whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour: that*

ἀν ἰδίᾳ ταυτὸν ποίῳ. *Liban.* [ad Maximum.] *Ep.* 1157. p. 553. *ed. Wolf.* To which may be added another from *Josephus*. Ἐπει δ' ὑπέβηται τὴν ἀντιλογίαν ἅπαντων ἰδίᾳ συγγραφάμενος παραδέσσειν, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐρμηνείαν ἀναβαλεῖται. *Antiq.* l. i. cap. i. §. 1.

that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.

Where St. Paul seems to refer to the rise of the dispute at *Antioch*, which is thus related by St. Luke. Acts. xv. 1. *And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren, and said: Unless ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.* These, as the Apostle here says, had intruded themselves into the church of *Antioch*, that they might bring them into subjection to all the burdensome observances of the law of *Moses*. Upon that account, and for defeating their design, he went up to *Jerusalem*, and there acted, as just shewn.

This text, and the explication now given of it, may receive illustration from the account, which St. Luke gives of Paul's coming to *Jerusalem* afterwards, where he first converses with the brethren, and then has a conference with James, and the Elders. The result of which is soon made known to all. Acts. xxi. 17. *And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly.* 18. *And the day following Paul went in with us unto James. And all the Elders were present.* 19. *And when he had saluted them,*
be

*he declared to them * particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentils by his ministrie.* Certainly St. Paul here intends heathens and idolaters. Ver. 20. *And when they heard it, they glorified the Lord, and said to him, . . .* Ver. 25. *As touching the Gentils which believe, we have written, and concluded, that they observe no such thing. . . .* The connexion leads us to suppose, that they speak of all Gentils whatever, idolatrous, as well as others.

Upon the whole the Apostle assures the Christians, his converts, in *Galatia*, that his going to *Jerusalem*, his declaring there to all the gospel, which he preached among the Gentils, and his conferring in private with the Apostles, particularly, with those who were reckoned the chief of them, were all done with a view to their benefit, *that the truth of the gospel might continue with them*, and other Gentils. And the event, as related by St. *Luke*, and as represented by the Apostle himself in this epistle, was entirely to his satisfaction.

St.

* . . . ἐξηγήσατο καθ' ἑκάστην αἰνέσασθαι τὸν θεόν ἐν ταῖς ἐθνέσι διὰ τῆς διακονίας αὐτῆς.

St. Paul in this epistle most earnestly exhorts the *Galatians*, to stand fast in the liberty, with which Christ has made us free, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage. ch. v. 1. and he severely censures instability in the genuine faith of the gospel. It would be, as seems to me, very strange, to suppose him to say, that when he was at *Jerusalem*, a few years only before writing this epistle, he had studiously concealed the doctrine, which he preached among the Gentiles, from all but some few Apostles. His so doing, whether through fear, or from prudential considerations, or any reasons whatever, must have been a great discouragement to those, to whom he is writing. How could it be expected, that they should openly assert before all the world the true evangelical liberty, if himself had been upon the reserve upon a late and important occasion?

St. Paul's having a private conference with some of the Apostles is no proof, that he had any secrets, with-held from the knowledge of others. But it might be a proper piece of respect, to discourse with those who were in great esteem, about what was to be communicated to all.

If

If St. *Paul* had desired to conceal his preaching to idolatrous Gentils, he could not have done it. His preaching at *Antioch*, and his and *Barnabas*'s peregrination in divers other countreys, related in Acts. xiii. xiv. were well known to all the Christians at *Antioch*. And when *Paul* and *Barnabas* went thence to *Jerusalem* about the question that had been started there; it is very likely, that some went to *Jerusalem* upon the same occasion, who were on the imposing side of the question. If *Paul* had endeavored to conceal any thing of an offensive nature, they would not have failed to divulge it.

We now proceed in the historie.

Peter having by divine appointment and direction performed that important service at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cesarea*, and having received Gentils into communion by baptism, without circumcision according to the law of *Moses*: and his conduct having been approved by the Apostles, and brethren at *Jerusalem*: they who had been scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about *Stephen*, and had hitherto preached the word to none but Jews only, having heard of this transaction, when they came to *Antioch*, spake unto the Greeks there, preaching

preaching the Lord Jesus. And the band of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. He afterwards brought Paul thither. And from that time forward the gospel was freely preached to Gentils, as well as Jews, and with great successe. Acts. xi. 19. . . . 26.

Soon after the conversion of *Cornelius*, it is likely that *the rest of the churches*, before mentioned was abated, till it was quite interrupted. However, *Peter*, and the other Apostles, still continued in *Judea*. And according to the utmost of their power, as the circumstances of things allowed, employed themselves in confirming the believers, and making additions to their number.

Toward the end of his reign *Herod Agrippa* became an open persecutor of the believers. *And killed James, the brother of John, with the sword. And because he saw, it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther, to take Peter also. [Then were the days of unleavened bread.] And when he had apprehended*

bended him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers, to keep him; that is, sixteen in all, four of which were by turns to watch him: intending after Easter, to bring him forth to the people. Acts. x. 1. . . . 4.

The conversion of *Cornelius* happened, as I suppose, in the year 41. of our Saviour's nativity, according to the vulgar computation. And the Easter, or Passover, here mentioned, was, probably, the Passover of the year 44.

Peter therefore was kept in prison. But prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him. ver. 5. And he was delivered out of prison, in a miraculous manner, as related ver. 6. . . . 11. The Divine Being did not allow, that a period should be yet put to the life of that Apostle. One thing very observable in this historie is the compofure of Peter's mind in a great extremity, and in the near apprehension of death. For it is said ver. 6. And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains. In that posture the angel found him, who at that instant was sent to assist his escape.

Having

Having informed some of his intimate friends, assembled at the house of *Marie*, in *Jerusalem*, of his wonderful deliverance out of prison, *he departed, and went to another place.* ver. 17. Meaning either another house in *Jerusalem*, or else some city, or village, not far from it. Where, probably, he lived privatly, till the death of *Herod Agrippa*, which happened before the end of that year.

Some have thought, that *Peter* now went to *Antioch*, or *Rome*. But there is no good evidence of either of those opinions. Says Mr. *Lenfant* upon the place: "If *St. Peter* had gone to some celebrated city, for instance, *Antioch*, according to some, or *Rome*, according to others, no doubt *St. Luke* would have mentioned it, and some of the brethren would have accompanied him, according to custom. From the manner, in which *St. Luke* expresseth himself, nothing is more natural, than to suppose, that *St. Peter*, that he might not expose to danger the faithfull at the house where he first called, and where many were assembled, retired to some other place in *Jerusalem*."

In the year 49. or 50. was assembled the Council of *Jerusalem*, concerning the que-

sion, whether it was needful to circumcise the Gentils, who believed, and to command them to keep the law. At this assemblie Peter was present, and in the debate clearly declared his opinion, that *the yoke of the law should not be laid upon the neck of the disciples from among the Gentils.* As a cogent argument for his opinion, he reminded the assemblie, how by divine appointment he had preached the word of the gospel to Gentils, at *Cesarea*, and that God, *who knoweth the hearts of all men*, had shewn his acceptance of them by giving to them the Holy Ghost, though uncircumcised. By which it had been made manifest, that they might be saved by faith in Jesus Christ, without the rituals of the law.

Whilst Paul was this time at *Jerusalem*, James, Peter, and John, gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that they might proceed in preaching to the Gentils: whilst they, and the other Apostles, still continued in *Judea* to preach to those of the circumcision. Gal. ii. 6. . . . 10.

He goes to Antioch, where he is reproved by St. Paul.

III. Some short time afterwards, as it seems, Peter was at *Antioch*, as we learn from St. Paul. Gal. ii. 11. . . . 16. I place

This

this journey of *Peter* to *Antioch*, after the Council of *Jerusalem*, according to the general opinion. But *Basnage* argues, that (*s*) it was before it. If it was not till after it, (as I rather think,) it could not be long. For *Barnabas* was now at *Antioch*. Whereas in a short time after their return thither from *Jerusalem*, he and *Paul* separated. Here *Peter* at first conversed freely with the Gentil converts. But upon the coming thither from *Judea* some Jewish believers, zealous for the law, *he separated himself, fearing them of the circumcision*. Herein *Peter* acted contrarie to his own judgement, and declared opinion, through fear of the displeasure of others. *St. Paul* therefore represents his conduct, as *disimulation*, or hypocrisie. What he now did, in compliance with the zealots for the law, was a thing of very bad tendence. *St. Paul* therefore just-

M 2

ly

(*s*) Illud nobis verosimilius, Concilii Hierosolymitani celebrationi antecessisse Petrinam hanc in Syriae metropoli comorationem. Argumento est disceptatio Pauli cum Petro, cujus dissimulationem obruisset autoritate Synodi, si jam coacta fuisset. Quin immo nulla Petro, et timendi Judaeos, et eorum gratiâ sese separandi a Gentibus causâ fuit, si tum temporis promulgata fuisset Concilii Hierosolymitani Epistola : quo veluti clypeo, ad omnes telorum Judaicorum ictus tutus erat. *Basnag. Ann. 46. num. xxv.*

ly *withstood him*, and so shewed him to be blamable, that *Peter* acquiesced. Hereby, as *Paul* expresseth it, *he* (E) *compelled the Gentils to judaize*, or become Jews. For his separating from them, as unfit for converse and communion with the Apostles of Christ, and the believers from among the Jews, implied, that they were not acceptable in the sight of God, nor in the way of salvation: and that in order to be saved, it was needful for them to be circumcised, and keep the law.

It was, as I suppose, soon after the Council, and the year 50. in which *Peter* came to

(E) *He compelled the Gentils to judaize, or become Jews.*] Our translation is: *Why compellest thou the Gentils to live as do the Jews?* But it is far from being exact. *Τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν*; To judaize is to become a Jew, or proselyte to the Jewish religion. *Esther* viii. 17. *And many of the people of the land became Jews.* Or, as in the Seventy . . . were circumcised, and judaized. *Καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν περιτέμνοντο, καὶ ἰουδαΐζον.* The Greek word is used in the same sense by *Josephus*. *De B. J.* l. 2. cap. 18. n. 2. *Ἀπεσκευάσθαι γὰρ τὰς ἰουδαίους δοκῶντες ἑκάστοι, τὰς ἰουδαΐζοντας ἔχον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ.* To christianize, arianize, sabellianize, is to become a Christian, an Arian, a Sabellian. And to judaize is to become a Jew. Which, if I may be allowed to say it, shews the impropriety of the use of the word, *Judaizer*, now very common among learned moderns, as denoting a man, who is for imposing Judaism upon others.

to *Antioch*. And I imagine, that he now first of all went abroad out of *Judea*, into Gentil countreys. It is very likely, that he was desirous to see the Christian people at *Antioch*. But hitherto he had been little used to converse with Gentils. And when some zealous Jewish believers came to *Antioch* from *Jerusalem*, he was alarmed: recollecting, it is likely, how some at *Jerusalem* had contended with him after he was come from *Cesarea*, because he had been with men uncircumcised, and *did eat with them*. Acts. xi. 23. and very well knowing, from long and frequent experience, the prevailing temper of the people of his countrey. But it is reasonable to think, that *Peter* never more shewed the like unsteadinesse, but was firm ever afterwards.

This is the last time, that *Peter* is expressly mentioned in the New Testament, excepting his own epistles, and 1. Cor. i. 12. and iii. 22, From which texts *Pearson* concludes, that (t) *St. Peter* had been at *Corinth*,

M 3

rinth,

(t) At certissimum est, Petrum non minus quam Paulum Corinthi fuisse, et quidem antequam S. Paulus primam epistolam dedit ad Corinthios. Ita enim Apostolus loquitur.

1. Cor.

rinth, before St. *Paul* wrote his first epistle to the church there. But others think, that (*u*) that there were some at *Corinth*, who had heard *Peter* preach in *Judea*: and some, who had seen Christ in person. They who said, *I am of Cephas, or of Christ*, must be supposed to have been Jews, either by descent, or religion.

I do not think, these words can prove that *Peter* had been at *Corinth*, before *Paul* wrote this epistle. At ch. iii. 6. St. *Paul* says: *I have planted. Apollos watered.* He makes no mention of *Peter's* labours among
the

1. Cor. i. 12. Unde colligitur, non minus Cepham, et Apollos, quam Paulum Corinthi fuisse. *Pearf. Op. Post. Diss. i. cap. vii. p. 37.*

(*u*) Alii ergo Corinthi ab Apollo instituti post Pauli abitum, alii ab ipso Paulo, alii qui ex Judaea venerant a Petro, sub illis nominibus, alia atque alia dogmata tradebant. . . . *Ego autem Christi.* Venerant enim ex Judaea quidam, qui ipsum Christum docentem audierant. *Grot. ad 1. Cor. i. 12. Vid. et Wits. de Vita Pauli. sect. 7. num. xx. Meletem. p. 104. 105.*

Sunt viri docti qui existimant, Petrum Apostolum hoc anno Corinthum venisse, dum in ea urbe etiamnum esset Apollos. . . . Sed propensio in Petrum esse potuit, licet Corinthum pedem non intulisset. Nihil enim vetat fuisse Christianos Corinthi, qui cum Petrum in Judaea aut alibi audivissent, magistrum eum suum discerant, et Paulo praeferrent. Itaque iter hoc Petri nimis levi conjecturâ nititur. *Cleric. H. E. ann. 55. num. v.*

the *Corinthians*. *Peter* may have been at *Corinth* afterwards, in his way to *Rome*. But I do not see any proof from this epistle of his having been there.

IV. We have no where any very distinct account of this Apostle's travels. He might return to *Judea*, and stay there a good while after having been at *Antioch*, at the time spoken of by *St. Paul* in the epistle to the *Galatians*. However, I formerly quoted *Epiaphanius*, saying, that (x) *Peter* was often in the countreys of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. And by *Eusebius* we are assured, that *Origen* in the third tome of his Exposition of the book of *Genesis*, writes to this purpose :
 “ *Peter* (y) is supposed to have preached to
 “ the Jews of the dispersion in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Asia*. Who
 “ at length coming to *Rome*, was crucified
 “ with his head downwards, himself having desired it might be in that manner.”

His Travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome.

M 4

For

(x) *Vol. viii. p. 310.*

(y) Πέτρος δὲ ἐν πόντῳ . . . κεκηρυγμένοι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν. Ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν βλάβῃ γενόμενος, ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὥτως αὐτὸς ἀξιόσας παθεῖν. *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. i.*

For the time of *Peter's* coming to *Rome*, no ancient writer is now more regarded by learned moderns, than *Lactantius*, or whoever is the author of the book *Of the Deaths of Persecutors*. Who says, that (z) *Peter* came thither in the time of *Nero*. Inasmuch that (a) *Pagi* assents to this account: and has shewn it to be altogether improbable, that (b) *St. Peter* came thither in the time of *Claudius*. He likewise (c) observes some difficulties, which they are liable to, who suppose, that he first came to *Rome* in the reign of *Claudius*, and afterwards in the reign of *Nero*. But though *Peter* did not come to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, which began in the year of Christ 54. we cannot say exactly the time, when he came thither,

(z) . . . et per annos xxv. usque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesiae fundamenta miserunt. Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quae virtute ipsius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ . . . et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. *De Mort. Persec. cap. 2.*

(a) *Critic. in Baron. ann. 43. num. iii.*

(b) *Ibid. num. ii.*

(c) *Ibid. num. iii.*

thither, as is also (*d*) acknowledged by the same excellent chronologer.

However, it appears to me very probable, that *St. Peter* did not come to *Rome* before the year of Christ 63. or 64. nor till after *St. Paul's* departure thence, at the end of his two years imprisonment in that city.

The books of the New Testament afford a very plausible, and probable, if not a certain argument for it. After our Lord's ascension we find *Peter* with the rest of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. He and *John* were sent by the Apostles from *Jerusalem* to *Samarina*, whence they returned to *Jerusalem*. When *Paul* came to *Jerusalem* three years after his conversion, he found *Peter* there. Upon occasion of the tranquillity of the churches in *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samarina*, near the end of the reign of *Caligula*, *Peter* left *Jerusalem*, and visited the churches in the several parts of that countrey, particularly, at *Lydda*, and *Joppa*, where he tarried many days. Thence he went to *Cesarea* by the sea-side, where he preached to *Cornelius*,

(*d*) ... cum verus ejus adventus annus nos lateat. *Id.*
ann. 54. num. ii.

nelius, and his companie. Thence he returned to *Jerusalem*. And some time afterwards he was imprisoned there by *Herod Agrippa*. This brings down the historie of our Apostle to the year 44. A few years after this he was present at the Council of *Jerusalem*. Nor is there any evidence, that he came thither barely for that occasion. It is more probable, that he had not yet been out of *Judea*. Soon after that Council he was at *Antioch*, where he was reproved by *St. Paul*.

The books of the New Testament afford no light for determining, where *Peter* was for several years after that. But to me it appears not unlikely, that he returned in a short time to *Judea* from *Antioch*: and that he staid in *Judea* a good while, before he went thence any more. And it seems to me, that when he left *Judea*, he went again to *Antioch* the chief city of *Syria*. Thence he might go into other parts of the continent, particularly, *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bithynia*, which are expressly mentioned at the begining of his first epistle. In those countreys he might stay a good while. It is very likely, that he did so: and that he was well acquainted with

with the Christians there, to whom he afterwards wrote two epistles.

When he left those parts, I think, he went to *Rome*: but not till after *Paul* had been in that city, and was gone from it. Several of *St. Paul's* epistles furnish out a cogent argument of *Peter's* absence from *Rome* for a considerable space of time. *St. Paul*, in the last chapter of his epistle to the *Romans*, writ, as we suppose, in the beginning of the year 58. salutes many by name, without mentioning *Peter*. And the whole tenour of the epistle makes it reasonable to think, that the Christians there had not yet had the benefit of that Apostle's presence, and instructions. During his two years confinement at *Rome*, which ended, as we suppose, in the spring of the year 63. *St. Paul* wrote four, or five epistles, those to the *Ephesians*, the second epistle to *Timothie*, to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*: in none of which is any mention of *Peter*. Nor is any thing said, or hinted, whence it can be concluded, that he had ever been there.

I think therefore, that *Peter* did not come to *Rome* before the year 63. or perhaps 64. And, as I suppose, he obtained the
crown

crown of martyrdom in the year 64. or 65. Consequently, St. *Peter* could not reside very long at *Rome*, before his death.

It is very remarkable, that (e) *Nicephorus*, at the begining of the ninth centurie, in his *Chronographie*, computes St. *Peter*'s episcopate at *Rome* to have been of two years duration only. For that passage I am indebted to (f) *Basnage*, whose argument upon it I have placed below. *Nicephorus*, therefore, (and probably others likewise,) must have supposed, that *Peter* did not come to *Romè*, till near the end of his life.

As the foregoing is the most likely account of St. *Peter*'s travels, which I have been able to form; I do not see any reason to believe, that he ever was in *Chaldea*. *Cosmas*, of *Alexandria*, who thought, that
by

(e) 'Οι ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπέουσιν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.
ἁ Πέτρος ἀπόστολος ἔτη β̄.

Ap. Scalig. Thes. Temp. p. 308. ^{Paulo}

(f) Lactantius Eusebio ^{Paulo} antiquior Petrum non Claudio quidem, sed Nerone imperante Romam venisse tradit. . . . Neque Lactantio propria chronologia haec est. In Nicephori enim Chronographia legimus: *Qui Romae episcopatum gesserunt a Christo et Apostolis. Petrus apostolus annis duobus.* Quibus consequens est, Petrum biennium circiter ante mortem iter in urbem direxisse. Secus diuturniorem ei episcopatum vindicasset Nicephorus. *Basn. ann. 42. num. x.*

by (g) *Babylon* at the end of *St. Peter's* first epistle is meant *Babylon* in *Persia*, must have supposed, that this Apostle was in that country. And learned men (h) who understand *Babylon* in the same sense, take it for granted, that *St. Peter* travelled into that part of the world. But I do not perceive them to support their opinion by testimonies of ancient writers. Which surely would have been of advantage to it.

And there are some passages of ancient authors, where it would be reasonable to expect an account of such a journey, if there had been in those times any knowledge of it, or well attested tradition about it.

Origen, in the passage cited by (i) *Eusebius*, and already quoted by us likewise from him, says: "*Peter* is said to have preached to the Jews of the dispersion in
Pon-

(g) See vol. xi. p. 275.

(h) . . . Verum ego priorem sententiam tanquam longe verisimiliorem amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthica magna esset Judaeorum frequentia, qui διχματοάρχην suum habuerunt: tum quod Petro Antiochiâ discedenti facilior ac commodior esset in haec loca transitus, in quibus eum diu praedicasse, nemo, opinor, facile negabit. *Cav. H. L. in Petro. p. 6. Et Conf. Basnag. Ann. 57. num. iii. et ann. 46. num. xxv.*

(i) Vid. *Eus. H. E. l. 3. cap. i.*

Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia. Who at length coming to *Rome* was crucified."

Eusebius, in his Chronical Canon, as published by *Scaliger*, says, in the *Greek*, "that (*k*) *Peter* having founded the church "in *Antioch*, went away to *Rome*, preaching the gospel."

Jerome, in his book of Illustrious Men, in like manner says: "that (*l*) *Peter* having been at *Antioch*, and preached to the Jews of the dispersion in *Pontus*, and the neighboring countreys, went to *Rome*." In another place *Jerome* says: "that (*m*) Christ was with the Apostles in all the places whither they went. He was with *Thomas* in *India*, with *Peter* at *Rome*, with *Paul* in *Illyricum*, with *Titus* in *Crete*, with *Andrew* in *Achaia*." Why does he not also say, that Christ was with *Peter* in *Babylon*?

Ephraim

(*k*) Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τὴν ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτην θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *Chr. Can. p. 204.*

(*l*) Simon Petrus, . . . princeps Apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochenfis ecclesiae, et praedicationem dispersionis eorum, qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto . . . secundo claudii Imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum, Romam pergit. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(*m*) *Tom. iv. P. i. p. 167. ad Marcell. ep. 148.*

Ephraim the Syrian says, ‘that (n) *Peter* preached at *Rome*, *John* at *Ephesus*, *Matthew* in *Palestine*, and *Thomas* in the *Indies*.”

Gregorie Nazianzen (o) speaks of *Paul*, as having for his province all the Gentils in general, *Peter* *Judea*, *Luke* *Achaia*, *Andrew* *Epirus*, *John* *Ephesus*, *Thomas* the *Indies*, and *Mark* *Italie*.”

Why do none of these writers take in *Babylon*, or *Perfia*, or *Cbaldea*, as the Apostle *Peter*’s province?”

Once more. Says *Chrysostom*: “This (p) is one prerogative of our city, (*Antioch*,) that we had at the begining the chief of the Apostles for our master. For it was fit, that the place, which was first honored with the name of Christians, should have the chief of the Apostles for it’s Pastour. But though we had him for a master a while, we did not detain him, but resigned him to the royal city, *Rome*. Or rather, we have him still. For though we have not his body,

(n) See Vol. ix. p. 211.

(o) Orat. 25. p. 438. A.

(p) Ἐν γὰρ καὶ τὸ πλεονέκτημα τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, τὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖον λαβεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ διδασκαλον. . . . Ἀλλὰ . . . οὐκ εἰς τέλος κατέχομεν, ἀλλὰ παρεχωρήσαμεν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ῥάμῃ. κ. λ. In Princip. Act. Ap. hom. 2. T. 3. p. 70.

dy, we have his faith." I might refer to other places of *Chrysostom*, where he speaks of *Peter's* having been at *Rome*. But why does he not also mention *Babylon*?

I therefore relye upon the account before given of *St. Peter's* travels, as most likely. And in particular I observe, that we have not in ancient Christian writers any good assurance of his having ever been in *Persia*, or *Parthia*. A learned writer of our time, who contends that he was there, and that his first epistle was writ at the *Assyrian Babylon*, acknowledgeth, that (q) from that epistle of *St. Peter* alone we have any assurance of his having been at *Babylon*.

The Time
of his
Death.

V. In the historie of *St. Paul* I have already shewn it to be probable, that he and *Peter* suffered martyrdom at *Rome* in 64. or 65.

Cave (r) likewise, in his Life of *St. Peter*,

(q) Superest aliquid, quod ex hoc Petri loco discamus. Primum igitur cognoscimus hic, quod aliunde non constat, Babylone etiam fuisse Petrum, magnamque ibi messuisse Christo messiem. *Heumann. Nova Sylloge Diff. Part. 2. p. 113.*

(r) "The date of his death is differently assigned by the ancients.

ter, writ in *English*, in 1676. placeth the death of this Apostle in 64. or 65. Nor was his mind much altered, when he published his *Historia Literaria* in 1688. For there also he supposeth, that (*s*) *St. Peter* died

ancients. . . . That which seems to me most probable, is, that it was in the tenth of *Nero*, or the year lxx. Which I thus compute. *Nero's* burning of *Rome* is placed by *Tacitus* under the Consulship of C. Lucanus, and M. Licinius, about the month of July, that is, A. Ch. lxxiv. This act procured him the hatred and clamours of the people. Which having in vain endeavored several ways to remove and pacify, he at last resolved upon this project, to derive the odium upon the Christians. Whom therefore, both to appease the Gods, and please the people, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite tortures. This persecution began, as we may suppose, about the end of that, or the beginning of the following year. And under this persecution, I doubt not, it was, *St. Peter* suffered, and changed earth for heaven." *Carve's Life of St. Peter. sect. xi.*

(*s*) Tandem sub Nerone, forsan circa annum 63. Romam venit, fideles, quos ibi repperit, in ordinem redegit, ecclesiam constituit, auxit, et mox sanguine suo locupletavit. . . . Obiit igitur sanctus Petrus anno Christi 64. Neronis 10. sub initium persecutionis Neronianae, ut in opere vernaculo, *De Vitis Apostolorum*, latius differuimus. Etenim cum Nero ob grande illud scelus, Romanae Urbis incendium, in odium omnium venisset, abolendo rumori, inquit Tacitus, crimen coniecit in Christianos, eosque hâc de causâ quaesitissimis poenis

died a Martyr at *Rome*, in the year of Christ 64. at the begining of *Nero's* persecution. And indeed expresseth himself with a great deal of assurance and positivenesse.

Jerome concludes his article of *St. Peter*, saying: "He (*t*) was buried at *Rome* in the Vatican, near the triumphal Way, and is in veneration all over the world." We likewise formerly (*u*) saw a passage of *Caius*, about the year 212. where he speaks of the tombs of the two Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Rome*. And *Cbrysoptom*, in a passage lately cited, supposes *St. Peter* to have been buried in that city.

Things hitherto omitted.

VI. I shall now take notice of a few things hitherto entirely omitted, or but slightly touched upon. His Episcopate at *Antioch*, his having been five and twenty years Bishop of *Rome*, his children, his wife's martyrdom, said to have absconded at *Rome*, the manner of his crucifixion.

I. We

poenis affectit, Quin hac occasione rapti sint ad martyrium Apostoli, nemo, cui sanum sinciput, dubitare potest. *Hist. Lit. de Petro.* p. 5.

(*t*) See Vol. x. p. 131.

(*u*) Vol. iii. p. 23.

I. We have seen several authors, who speak of *Peter's* having been at *Antioch*. *Chrysostom* seems to have supposed, that (x) he was there a good while. This may be also implied in the passage of *Jerome* before cited (y) from his Book of Illustrious Men, where he speaks of *Peter's* episcopate of *Antioch*. And in his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Galatians* he says, that (z) *Peter* was at first Bishop of *Antioch*, and afterwards Bishop of *Rome*. *Eusebius*, speaking of *Ignatius*, and his epistles, calls (a) him the second Bishop of *Antioch* after *Peter*. *Jerome* (b) calls *Ignatius* the third Bishop of *Antioch* after *Peter*. They both suppose *Euodius*, of whom (c) *Eusebius* speaks elsewhere, to have been the first Bishop of *Antioch*, or the first after *Peter*.

N 2

What

(x) See p. 175.

(y) See before p. 174. note (1.)

(z) Denique primum Episcopum Antiochenae ecclesiae Petrum fuisse accepimus, et Romam exinde translatus, quod Lucas penitus omisit. *Hieron. in ep. ad Gal. cap. ii. 11. . . .*
13. T. 4. P. i. p. 244.

(a) . . . τῆς κατ' ἀντιόχειαν πέτρῃ διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος. *H. E. l. 3. cap. 36. p. 106.*
D.

(b) *Ignatius Antiochenae ecclesiae tertius post Petrum Apostolum Episcopus. De V. I. cap. 16.*

(c) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 22.*

What real foundation there is for all this, is hard to say : whether it be built entirely upon what *St. Paul* writes Gal. ii. 11. . . . 16. or whether there was some other ground for it.

But, as before said in the account above given of *St. Peter's* travels, I think, that *St. Peter* did not stay long at *Antioch*, the first time he was there, which is mentioned by *St. Paul*, but returned to *Judea*, and after some time leaving that countrey, he went to *Antioch* again. Where he might stay a while, and then go and preach in the countreys mentioned at the begining of his first epistle, and then go to *Rome*.

2. It has been said, that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome* five and twenty years. This is said by *Jerome* in (*d*) his book of Illustrious Men, and (*e*) in his Chronicle, or his Latin

(*d*) Post episcopatum Antiochenſis eccleſiae, et praedicationem diſperſionis eorum, qui de circumciſione crediderant in Ponto . . . Romam pergit : ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram ſacerdotalem tenuit, uſque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id eſt, decimum quartum. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(*e*) Petrus Apoſtolus, quum primus Antiochenam eccleſiam fundaffet, Romam mittitur, ubi evangelium praedicans xxv. annis ejufdem urbis Epifcopus perfeverat. *Chron. p. 160.*

tin edition of *Eusebe's* Greek Chronicle, or Chronical Canon, as it is sometimes called : where (*f*) he added divers things, not said by *Eusebius* himself.

But this is inconsistent with the historie in the Acts. Nor is it any where expressly said by *Eusebius* : though, perhaps, it might be argued from some things said by him. How the origin of this notion is accounted for by (*b*) *Pagi*, and (*i*) *Baluze*, both Ro-

N 3

manists,

(*f*) . . . *Ibid. xxv. annis ejusdem urbis episcopus perseverat.*]

Adjecta sunt ab Hieronymo, et ab eodem repetuntur in Catalogo Scriptor. Ecc. Graeca enim non habent. Ab assumptione Domini, ad id tempus, quo Petrus coniectus fuit in vincula ab Herode Agrippa. . . . Petrus semper fuit in Palaestina, aut Syria. Herodes obiit quarto anno Claudii. Quomodo igitur anno secundo Claudii profectus est Romam? Quomodo viginti quinque annos Romae perseveravit? *Scaliger. Animadv. p. 189.*

(*b*) Praestat hic Lactantii citati verba in medium afferre. *Apostoli per annos xxv. usque ad principium Neroniani Imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesiae fundamenta miserunt. Cumque Jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit. . . . Ex his viginti quinque annis, qui ad praedicationem omnium Apostolorum ex aequo pertinent, orta videtur opinio de xxv. annis, qui vulgo tribuuntur S. Petro in sede Romanâ. Pagi. ann. 43. num. iii.*

(*i*) Fortassis ergo ex his viginti quinque annis, qui ad praedicationem omnium-Apostolorum aequè pertinent, orta est opinio de viginti quinque annis, quos quidam veteres, et

inu-

manifests, may be seen in their own words, which I transcribe below. I refer likewise to (k) *Basnage*, and (l) *Dodwell*. In all whom are good observations, relating to this point.

3. *Clement of Alexandria* (m) reckons *Peter* among those Apostles, who had children. According to him *Philip* was another. *Epiphanius* says, that (n) *Peter* came

to

innumerable recentiorum agmen, sancto Petro apostolo tribuunt in sede Romana. Sane licet frustra et supervacaneae a nonnullis negari putem adventum ejus ad urbem Romam, qui clarissimis veterum testimoniis comprobatus est, de tempore tamen multum ambigo, cum videam tot tantasque difficultates habere eorum sententiam, qui illum Romam venisse volunt Claudio imperante, ut coacti sint duplicare profectionem ejus in urbem, et duplex item ejus cum Simone mago certamen comminisci, primo quidem temporibus claudii, dein principatu Neronis. Quae res quam absurde sit, cum id a nullo veterum proditum sit memoriae literarum, pervident istarum rerum periti. . . . Itaque si fas esset recedere a vulgari, et in animis hominum insita opinione, ei Lactantianam lubentur praeferrem; id est, Petrum quidem Romae praedicasse evangelium facile concederem, non sub Tiberio Claudio, ut vulgo putant, sed sub Nerone Claudio. &c. *Steph. Baluz. annot. ad libr. de M. P. cap. 2.*

(k) *Ann.* 42. n. x. xi.

(l) *Diff. Singularis. cap. iii. n. 1. p. 13.*

(m) . . . ἢ καὶ ἀποστόλος ἀποδοκιμάζει; Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλιππος ἐπαιδοποίησαντο. *Clem. Strom. l. 3. p. 448. D. et ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 30.*

(n) Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τέκνα κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ παθεῖν

to Christ after he was married, and had children. *Jerome*, in his first book against *Jovinian*, takes notice, that (o) in the Circuits, probably meaning the Recognitions, mention was made both of *Peter's* wife and daughter. But, says he, that is not a canonical book. And still we have a passage in the Recognitions, where *St. Peter's* wife is mentioned: but, as (p) *Cotelerius* observes, what was said of *Peter's* daughter is wanting. Possibly, these things may illustrate the words of *Peter*, recorded Matt. xix. 27. *Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee. What shall we have therefore?*

N 4

And

πάν ἔχεν, συνέτυχε τῷ σωτῆρι, ἐξ ἰσθαίων ὀρμώμενος. *Haer.* 30. num. xxii. p. 147. B.

(o) Possumus autem et de Petro dicere, quod habuerit socrum eo tempore quo credidit, et uxorem non habuerit: quamquam legatur in Περίοδοις et uxor ejus et filia. Sed nunc nobis de canone omne certamen est. *Contr. Jovin. l. i. T. IV. P. 2. p. 168. in.*

(p) *Die autem postera sedens cum uxore Petri.*] Testatur Hieronymus contra Jovinianum scribens, legi in Periodis et uxorem Petri et filiam. Ea igitur Circuituum pars, in qua de Petri filia (Petronillam illam vocant) sermo erat, nunc desideratur. Uxorem autem memorant praeterea Clem. A. Str. 7. ubi et martyrium illius refert verbis, quae citantur ab Eusebio. iii. 30. Origenes ad Matt. xix. 27. Epiphanius H. 30. n. 22. Hieronymus ep. 34. *Coteler. ad Recognit. l. 7. cap. 25.*

And indeed *Origen*, in his *Commentarie* upon *St. Matthew*, says: "It (*q*) seems, that *Peter* did not leave nets only, but also a house, and a wife, whose mother the Lord healed of a fever, and, as may be supposed, children, and possibly likewise some small estate."

4. Farther, *Clement* of *Alexandria* (*r*), cited also by (*s*) *Eusebius*, informs us: "It was said, that the blessed *Peter* seeing his wife led forth to death, rejoyced for the grace of God vouchsafed to him: and calling to her by name exhorted, and comforted her, saying: *Remember the Lord*."

If time and place had been mentioned, it would have added to the credibility of the storie. However she might be at *Rome*, as we know *Peter* was. And if so, she might suffer about the same time with him. For *Nero's* persecution took in people of both sexes, and of all conditions, as we know from

(*q*) *Origen*. in *Matt. Tom. xv. p. 682. T. 3. Bened.*

(*r*) Φασὶ γέν, τὸν μακάριον πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτῆς γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἡσθῆναι τῆς κλήσεως χάριν· . . . ἐπιφωνῆσαι δὲ αὐτῇ μάλα προτρεπτικῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἐξ ὀνόματος προσέποντα· Μέννησο ὡς αὕτη τῇ κυρίῳ.
Str. 7. p. 736. B.

(*s*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 30.*

from the account given by *Tacitus*. And we learn from *St. Paul*, that *Peter* was attended by his wife in his travels. 1. Cor. ix. 5.

5. It is also said, "that (*t*) *St. Peter* being imprisoned at *Rome*, or being in some imminent danger of suffering, the brethren there entreated him to consult his safety by flight, and to reserve himself for farther service and usefulness. At length he was persuaded, and went out in the dark night. But when he came to the gate, he saw *Christ* entering into the city. Whereupon he said: *Lord, whither art thou going?* *Christ* answered: *I am come hither to be crucified again.* By which *Peter* apprehended himself

(*t*) Idem Petrus postea, victo Simone, cum praecepta Dei populo seminarat, excitavit animos Gentilium: quibus eum quaerentibus, Christianae animae deprecatae sunt, ut paullisper cederet. Et quamvis esset cupidus passionis, tamen contemplatione populi precantis inflexus est. Rogabatur enim, ut ad instituendum et confirmandum populum se reservaret. Quid multa? Nocte muros egredi coepit. Sed videns sibi in portâ Christum occurrere, urbemque ingredi, ait: Domine quo vadis? Respondit Christus: Venio iterum crucifigi. . . Intellexit ergo Petrus, quod iterum Christus crucifigendus esset in servulo. Itaque sponte remeavit. Interrogantibus Christianis responsum reddidit, statimque correptus, per crucem suam honoravit Dominum Jesum. *Ambr. Serm. contr. Aux. T. 2. p. 867. A. B. ed. Bened.*

self to be reproved, and perceived, that Jesus spake of his death, and that now he was to be crucified in his servant. Accordingly *Peter* turned back, and gave satisfaction to the brethren. And being soon after taken up, he was crucified."

This storie is in *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*, in the fourth centurie. *Tillemont* (u) has endeavored to find some grounds for it, or references to it, in more ancient authors. But they are very obscure, and doubtfull. *Basnage* (x) has some remarks upon it, which may be read by such as have leisure.

6. *St. Peter's* death, and the manner of it, we saw just now in a passage cited from (y) *Origen*, and likewise, that when he was to be crucified, he desired, it might be in that way. So likewise *Jerome*, "that (z) he was crucified by order of *Nero*, and so crowned with martyrdom, his head downward, and his feet lifted up, saying: He

(u) *S. Pierre. art. 35. et note 39. Mem. Tom. i.*

(*) *Ann. 65. num. xi.*

(y) See p. 167.

(z) A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso, et in sublime pedibus elevatis: afferens, se indignum, qui sic crucifigeretur, ut Dominus suus. *De V. l. cap. i.*

He was unworthie to be crucified, as his master was." To the like purpose (a) *Prudentius*. *Chrysostom* also several times speaks (b) of *Peter's* being crucified with his head downwards.

And it is unquestioned, that (c) among the *Romans* some were so crucified, to add to their pain and ignominie. Nevertheless some ancient writers, who speak of *Peter's* martyrdom by crucifixion, do (d) not take notice

(a) Primum Petrum rapuit sententia, legibus Neronis,
Pendere jussum praeminente ligno.

Ille tamen veritus celsae decus aemulando mortis

Ambire tanti gloriam magistri :

Exigit, ut pedibus mersum caput imprimant supinis,

Quo spectet imum stipitem cerēbro.

Περὶ σεφ. cap. 12.

(b) . . . ἅτε δὴ καὶ πλείονος λαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ
θάρος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τῷ σαυρῷ κατὰ κεφαλῆς προ-
σομιλῆσαι. κ. λ. *Chr. in Pr. Act. hom. 4. T. 3. p. 93. E.*

Παῦλος δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἐχὼς μὲν ἀποτμηθεὶς, ὃς δὲ ἀπ' ἐναν-
τίας τῷ δεσπότῃ τῷ σαυρῷ τὴν τιμωρίαν δεξάμενος, ἔτω με-
τέσθι τῆς παύσεως ζωῆς; *In Gen. hom. 66. T. 4. p. 630. A.*

Ὁ χριστὸς ἐσαυράθη ἔτος ἑμελλεν ἀποκεφαλίζεσθαι· ὁ πᾶς
κατὰθεν ἀνεσκολοπίσθη. *In 2. Tim. hom. 5. T. xi. p. 687. D.*

(c) *Vid. Basnag. ann. 65. num. xiv.*

(d) Ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur. *Tertull. Pr. cap. 36. p. 245.* Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adstringitur. *Id. Scorp. cap. 15. p. 633.*

. . . Pe-

notice of that circumstance. Which has induced (e) *Basnage* to dispute the truth of it. Allowing, that (f) *Peter* was crucified in that manner, he thinks it not reasonable to suppose, it was at his own request. And it must be acknowledged, that his reasoning is plausible.

It seems to me, that *Peter* might be crucified in that manner, and that it might be owing to the spite and malice of those, who put him to death. The saying, that it was at his own desire, may have been at first only the oratorical flight of some man of more wit than judgement. But the thought was pleasing, and therefore has been followed by many.

VII.

... Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. *De Mort. Persec. cap. 2.*

(e) *Ubi supra. num. xiv.*

(f) Concesso, ut plures testantur, sublimibus Petrum vestigiis affixum cruci, quin ex Praetoris mandato irrogatum hoc supplicii, quo pereunti adderetur dolor et ludibrium, non credere non possumus. . . . Praepostera sane et vana ea videtur esse modestia, quam ascribunt Petro. . . . Neque priscorum aliquem martyrum, qui in crucem acti fuerunt, similis unquam incessit humilitas. . . . Praeterea certo certius est, atrocius eorum fuisse supplicium, qui inverso, quam qui recto capite figebantur cruci. . . . Martyris autem est, imperatam sibi mortem perferre fortiter, non vero poscere, ut intendatur a carnifice tormenta. *Id. ib. num. xv.*

VII. Some learned men have denied, *That he was at Rome, and suffered Martyrdom there.* that *Peter* ever was at *Rome*, as (g) *Scaliger*, (b) *Salmasius*, (i) *Frederic Spanheim*, and some others. Mr. *Bower* is much of the same mind. His words are: "From (k) what has been hitherto said every impartial judge must conclude, that it is at best very much to be doubted, whether *St. Peter* ever was at *Rome*." Nevertheless there have been many learned men among the Protestants, as well as Romanists, whose impartiality was never questioned, who have believed, and argued very well, that *Peter* was at *Rome*, and suffered martyrdom there. I refer

(g) Quum igitur Petrus ad *περιτομήν* missus esset, videtur in *διασπορά* Asiana periisse, si conjecturae locus est. Nam de ejus Romam adventu, sede 25 annorum, et supremo capitis supplicio, ibidem, nemo qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere posset. *Jos. Scal. annot. ad Joh. xviii. 31.*

(b) De Petro vero a Nerone sublato non constat. Si non potest probari Romae illam fuisse unquam, quomodo ibi crucifixus? Putem ego cum *Salmasio* Babylone martyrium passum esse, si quid divinare in re incerta licet. *Gallaeus ad Lact. Instit. l. 4. cap. 21. Vid. et de Salmasii sententiâ Pearson. De Success. prim. Rom. Episcop. Diff. i. cap. viii.*

(i) *Diff. de ficta protectione Petri Ap. in Urbem Romam. Opp. Tom. 2. p. 331. &c.*

(k) *History of the Popes. Vol. i. p. 5.*

refer to some: (l) Cave, (m) Pearson, (n) Le Clerc, (o) Basnage, (p) Barratier.

I shall therefore remind my readers of some testimonies of ancient writers, relating to this matter, making also a few remarks upon them. And then let every one judge.

I begin with *Clement of Rome*, who wrote an epistle to the *Corinthians*, before the year of Christ 70. as some think, or about the year 96. as others suppose. In that epistle are these expressions. "But (q) not to insist any longer, says he, upon examples of former times, let us come to those worthies, that are nearest to us, and take the brave examples of our own age. Through zeal and envie they who were the most righteous pillars of the Church (r) have been persecuted even to a cruel death."

(l) *Hist. Lit. in Petro.*

(n) *De Successione primorum Romae Episcoporum. Diff. i. cap. vii. et viii.*

(n) *Hist. Ecc. ann. 67. n. i. et ann. 68. n. 1. 2.*

(o) *Ann. 64. num. ix. x. xi.*

(p) *De Successione Episc. Roman. cap. i.*

(q) *Clem. ep. ad Cor. cap. v. vi.*

(r) . . . ἐδίωχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου πέθανον.

“ death. Let (s) us set before our eyes the
 “ excellent Apostles. *Peter* through un-
 “ righteous zeal underwent not one or two,
 “ but many labours, till at last being mar-
 “ tyred he went to the place of glorie that
 “ was due to him. Through (t) zeal
 “ *Paul* obtained the reward of patience.
 “ Seven times he was in bonds, he was
 “ whipped, he was stoned. He preached
 “ both in the East and in the West. And
 “ having taught the whole world righteouf-
 “ nesse, and (u) coming to the borders of
 “ the West, and suffering martyrdom under
 “ the Governours, so he departed out of the
 “ world, and went to the most holy place,
 “ being a most eminent pattern of pa-
 “ tience.

“ To (x) these men, who lived a divine
 “ life, was joyned a great multitude of
 “ choice

(s) Λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀποστάλας.
 Πέτρος διὰ ζήλον ἀδίκου . . . καὶ ἔτι μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς
 τὸν ὀφειλομένου τόπον τῆς δόξης.

(t) Διὰ ζήλον ὁ παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἐπίσχευ.

(u) Καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμένων, ἔτι ἀπηλλάγη τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον
 τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

(x) Τῆταις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν θείως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθεύσθη
 πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς ἀδικίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ
 ζήλον παθόντες ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν.

“choice ones, who having undergone
“through zeal many reproaches and tor-
“ments, became an excellent example a-
“mong us.”

From these passages I think it may be justly concluded, that *Peter* and *Paul* were Martyrs at *Rome* in the time of *Nero's* persecution. For they suffered among the *Romans*, where *Clement* was Bishop, and in whose name he was writing to the *Corinthians*. They were Martyrs, when many others were an *example*, or *pattern*, of a like patience *among them*. To these *Apostles*, says *Clement*, was joyned a great multitude of *choice ones*, or elect, that is, Christians. This is a manifest description of *Nero's* persecution at *Rome*, when a multitude of Christians there were put to death under grievous reproaches, and exquisite torments, as we are assured by *Tacitus*. These were joyned to the excellent Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, before mentioned. Therefore *Peter* and *Paul* had suffered at that place, and at that time : and, as it seems, according to this account, at the begining of that persecution. Which may be reckoned not at all improbable.

When

When *Clement* says, that *Paul* suffered martyrdom under the Governours, he may be understood to mean by order of the magistrate. It cannot be hence inferred, that *Peter* and *Paul* did not die by *Nero's* order, or in virtue of his edict against the Christians. It should be considered, that *Clement* is not an historian. He is writing an epistle, containing divers exhortations. It was not needfull for him to be more particular. He does not name the city, in which either *Peter*, or *Paul* died, nor the death, which they underwent. But he intimates, that they suffered a cruel death, together with many choice ones among them. Which must mean *Rome*. And he plainly represents these Apostles as Martyrs, who had suffered through envie and unrighteous zeal. The place and the manner of their death were well known to the Christians at *Corinth*, to whom *Clement* was writing.

If we consider, where *Clement* was, he may be reasonably excused from naming the Emperour, or being otherwise more particular. This epistle was writ soon after some troubles, which the Christians at *Rome* had met with, as appears plainly from the beginning of it: meaning, it is likely, either the persecution

of *Nero*, or of *Domitian*, the next persecutor of the Christians. It is not at all strange, that at such a time *Clement* should think himself obliged to circumspection in the manner of his expressions.

Indeed the primitive Christians were always very carefull, not to speak disrespectfully of Heathen Princes, or other Magistrates, how much soever they suffered from them. The epistle begins in this manner. *The calamities and afflictions, brethren, which have befallen us, have somewhat retarded our answer to your inquiries.* Those afflictions intend, as before said, the persecution of *Nero*, or *Domitian*. And if so, certainly there is much mildness in the expressions. But a very different stile is used presently after in speaking of the dissension, which there was among the Christians at *Corinth*. It is called *a wicked and ungodly sedition, unbecoming the elect of God, fomented by a few rash and self-willed men.*

Bp. *Pearson* has argued from this place, that (y) *Peter* and *Paul* did not die by order of

(y) S. Paulus (cum Petro) ultimo Neronis anno martyrium fecit. Factum autem id est sub Praefectis in Urbe, ut testatur

of *Nero* himself but by order of the Prefects of the City, when *Nero* was absent, and, particularly, on Febr. 22. in the year of Christ 68. and the last year of *Nero*. And he says, that (z) the Greek word, which I have rendered *Governours*, or *Magistrates*, never denotes the Emperour, but only the Prefects of the city, or of the provinces.

But *Pearson* was very unhappy in that observation. For *Nero* was at *Rome* in the beginning of the year 68. *Pagi* (a) and *Basnage* (b) have shewn, that whereas *Nero* was absent from *Rome* almost two years, the greatest part of 66. and 67. he arrived at *Rome* from *Greece* in December 67.

O 2

And

testatur Clemens Romanus, absente scilicet Nerone, Februarii die 22. *Ann. Paulin. p. 25. A. D. 68.*

(z) Quod si Romam diserte non expresserit, Neronem certe multo minus delineavit. Dicit enim Paulum ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμέων.... Neque enim ἡγέμενοι Imperatores dicti sunt : sed qui sub Imperatore, in provinciis praefertim, Praefidum loca sub variis nominibus obtinebant.... Neque haec vox tantum in provinciis solennis fuit, sed etiam Romae..... Tales erant Romae, ultimo Neronis anno, duo Praefecti Praetorio, Tigellinus et Sabinus, et cum summa potestate Helius. *De Succession. prim. Romae Episcop. Diff. i. cap. 8. §. ix.*

(a) *Ann. 67. num. ii.*

(b) *Ann. 66. num. vi. et 67. n. v.*

And the word, which I have rendered *Governours*, is often used, not only for Prefects, but also for Kings, and Emperours, or other supreme magistrates. ⁸ Of (c) which I place several instances in the margin.

However, both the noun and the verb are general words, and are used concerning Governours supreme and subordinate. As is apparent from that well known text. Luke iii. 1. *Now (d) in the fifteenth year of the reign*

(c) 1. Kings. xv. 13, it is said of *Asha*: *And also Maachab, his mother, he removed from being Queen.* In the lxx. it is thus: Καὶ τὴν θῆκα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς μετέστωε τῇ μὴ εἶναι ἡγεμένην. 2. Chron. vii. 18. When God appeared to *Solomon*, he said: *Then will I establish the throne of thy kingdom. There shall not fail thee a man to be Ruler in Israel.* Ὅσον ἐξαρθήσεται σοι ἡγέμενος ἀνὴρ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ. 2. Chr. ix. 26. *And he reigned over all the Kings from the river.* Καὶ ἦν ἡγέμενος πάντων τῶν βασιλέων ἀπὸ τῆς ποταμῆς. When St. *Matthew* ch. ii. 6. quotes the words of the Prophet *Micah*: *Out of thee shall come a Governour, ἡγέμενος, that shall rule my people Israel:* he does not mean a Governour of inferior rank, but the *Messiah* himself. I shall add only a like instance or two from *Josephus*, and from a Greek classic, though many might be mentioned. . . . μέχρι ἔτους δωδεκάτης τῆς νέωνος ἡγεμονίας. *Joseph. Ant. l. 20. cap. x. sect. ult. n. 2. . . . δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς νέωνος ἡγεμονίας.* *De B. I. l. 2. cap. 14. n. 4. . . . τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν ἀποδείξειαι ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνα.* *Dion. Hal. l. 4. cap. 4. p. 202. ed. Hudson.*

(d) Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐπὶ καίσαρος, ἡγεμονούντος ποντίου πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being Governour of Judea. As the words are well rendred in our version. But, literally, they might be translated in this manner. *Now in the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being Governour of Judea.*

As for the word being in the plural number: it is no uncommon thing to prefer that to the singular, when we are obliged to be cautious, and intend, as I suppose *Clement* did, to speak in a general way. In short *Clement* shews, that *Peter* and *Paul* had died by martyrdom, and not in a tumult of the people, but by order of the magistrate, meaning the Emperour, though he is not named.

So that I must take the liberty to say, that *Pearson's* observation, that *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death, not by *Nero*, but by the Prefects of *Rome*, or some other great officer, in the absence of the Emperour, appears to be of no value. And it is destitute of all authority from historie. For we shall see, as we proceed, that the death of these two Apostles is continually ascribed to *Nero* by all who speak distinctly about it.

One thing more I must take notice of. From these passages of *Clement* it has been argued, that *Peter* never was at *Rome*, in (e) this manner. "*Clemens Romanus*, (who " was personally acquainted with the A-
" postles, and knew very well where they
" traveled,) writes a letter from *Rome* to *Co-*
" *rinth*, and mentions *St. Paul's* traveling
" very far to spread the gospel: but in the
" same section, though he mentions *St. Pe-*
" *ter's* sufferings and martyrdom, yet he
" says nothing of his traveling much, nor
" one word of his ever having been at
" *Rome*."

Upon which I beg leave to observe, *first*. It seems to me, that *Clement* says, *Peter* and *Paul* suffered martyrdom at *Rome*. For speaking of the great multitude of the elect, who had been an excellent example of patience among them, meaning the *Romans*, he says, they (f) were joyned to or with the good *Apostles*, before mentioned. Therefore the *Apostles* had suffered in the same place. Certainly *Clement*, who wrote this, did not think,

(e) See *Dr. Benson's Preface to St. Peter's first epistle*. sect. iii. p. 157. 2d. ed.

(f) τέτοις . . . συνηθροίσθη παλὶ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν.

think, that *Peter* died at *Babylon* in *Mesopotamia*, and *Paul* at *Rome* in *Italie*. *Secondly*. The reason, why *Clement* so particularly mentions *St. Paul's* travels, probably, was, because the extent of his preaching was very remarkable. And it is likely, that *Clement* refers to *Rom. xv. 19*. *Thirdly*. His omitting to speak of *Peter's* travels is not a denial of his having traveled a great deal. Nor does it imply, that he had not been at *Rome*. *St. Paul* must have been twice in the West, and at *Rome*, if he suffered martyrdom there. But *Clement* does not say so, though he knew it very well. As did the *Corinthians* likewise. But when we speak or write of things well known, (as these things were at that time,) there is no need to be very particular. It was sufficient, if *Clement* mentioned such things, as would render his exhortations effectual.

I shall now transcribe below (g) some like

O 4

ob-

(g) Denique manifestum est, nihil hic a Clemente de Urbe, vel de Imperatore diserte et expressim dictum esse, quia a Romanis ad Corinthios scripsit, qui haec omnia, non minus quam ipse, noverunt. Immo Clemens mentionem loci non fecit, non quia ipse ignorabat, sed quia illi cognoverunt. Nam si ignorasset quo in loco, qua in regione, aut qua in orbis

observations of *Pearson*, in his confutation of *Salmasius*.

Upon the whole, I cannot but think, that these passages, of *Clement* bear a testimonie to the martyrdoms both of *Peter* and *Paul*, and that at *Rome*, which cannot be evaded.

Ignatius, about 108. writing to the *Romans*, says: "I (*b*) do not command you, " as *Peter* and *Paul*. They were Apostles. "I am a condemned person." *Ignatius* must have supposed, that the Christians at *Rome* had been instructed by *Peter*, as well as by *Paul*. The observations of (*i*) *Pearson*,

orbis parte, mortuus est Petrus, quomodo asserere potuit, eum martyrio coronatum fuisse? Proculdubio haec loci omisso non ex ignorantia cujuspiam, aut scriptoris alterius, sed ex certissima omnium, ad quos spectabat haec epistola, tum Romanorum, tum Corinthiorum, aliorumque fidelium cognitione et explorata scientia, quae ulteriorem expositionem minime requirebat. Ac tandem argumentum hoc negativum ex Clemente productum, non eorum sed nostrum est. Clemens optime novit, et ubi, et quomodo passus est S. Petrus. Idem etiam bene noverunt tum Romani, tum Corinthii. Aliter eos ea de re certiores fecisset Clemens. *Pearson. de Success. prim. Romae Episc. Diff. i. cap. 8. sect. ix.*

(*b*) 'Ουχ' ὡς πέτρος καὶ παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. Ἐκείνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατὰκριτος. *Ad Rom. cap. 4.*

(*i*) Quid enim ex his verbis ad Romanos scriptis apertius, quam sanctissimum Martyrem in ea sententia fuisse, quod
Petrus,

son, and (k) *Barratier*, upon this place, which I put below, appear very just.

The Preaching of *Peter*, or of *Peter* and *Paul*, quoted by several ancient writers, (as has been shewn in this work,) though not as a book of authority, composed (l) about the middle of the second centurie, or sooner, makes mention of *Peter's* being at *Rome*, in this manner, as cited by *Lactantius*. "After (m) his resurrection Christ opened to his disciples all things that should come to pass, which things *Peter* and *Paul* preached at *Rome*." And what follows. There (n) is another large quotation of this book in the Author of *Rebaptizing*, writ about 256. where

Petrus, non minus quam Paulus, Romae evangelium praedicavit, et passus sit? *Pearson. ib. cap. 7. n. ii.*

(k) *Ignatius*, . . . Romanis scribens, negat se ipsis, tanquam Petrum et Paulum, praecipere velle. Cur Petrum et Paulum unà nominat, nisi quod uterque Romae fuerit? Cur Petrum, si cum Romanis nullum nexum habuerit? Si enim Romae non fuerit, cum Romanis non scripserit, nil magis cum iis commune habebat, vel iis praeceperat, quam Jacobus, vel Judas, vel Joannes. Manifestum est, *Ignatium Romanum Petri iter novisse. Barrat. ubi supr. num. iii. p. 5.*

(l) See *Vol. ii. p. 537. note (F).*

(m) Sed et futura aperuit illis omnia, quae Petrus et Paulus Romae praedicaverunt. Et ea praedicatio in memoriam scripta permanfit. *Lactant. Inst. l. 4. cap. 21. p. 422.*

(n) See *Vol. iv. p. 889. 890.*

where it is supposed, that *Peter* and *Paul* were together at *Rome*.

Dionysius, Bishop of *Corinth* about 170. in a letter to the church of *Rome*, inscribed to *Soter* their Bishop, as cited by *Eusebius*, takes notice, "that (o) *Peter* and *Paul* going to *Italie*, taught there, and suffered martyrdom about the same time."

Irenaeus, about 178. speaks of the church of *Rome* "(p) as founded and established by the two great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*." In another place he says, "that (q) *Matthew* wrote his gospel, whilst *Peter* and *Paul* were preaching at *Rome*, and establishing the church there." *Irenaeus*, who was as likely to know as most, had no doubt about these things. And some of his arguments with heretics are partly built upon them: well knowing, that they could not be

(o) Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ ἰταλίας ὁμοίως διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν. Ap. Euseb. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68. The same passage is largely quoted Vol. i. p. 301.

(p) Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximae, et antiquissimae, et omnibus cognitae, a gloriosissimis Apostolis, Petro et Paulo, Romae formatae et constitutae ecclesiae, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam omnibus fidem. &c. Adv. Haer. l. 3. cap. 3.

(q) Adv. Haer. l. 3. cap. 1. et ap. Euseb. l. 5. cap. 8.]

be contested, and that they were generally allowed.

According to *Clement of Alexandria*, who flourished about the year 194. *St. Mark's Gospel* (*r*) was writ at the desire of *St. Peter's* hearers at *Rome*.

Tertullian, about the year 200. and after, often speaks (*s*) of *Peter* being at *Rome*, and teaching there, and suffering martyrdom there, together with *Paul*, or about the same time.

Caius,

(*r*) *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 15. et lib. 6. cap. 14. and of this work Vol. ii. p. 472.*

(*s*) Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes Romam. . . . Ista quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt! Ubi Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur. *De Praeser. Haer. cap. 36. p. 245.*

Nec quicquam refert inter eos, quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. *De Baptism. cap. 4. p. 257.*

Videamus, quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint. . . . Quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. *Adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 5. p. 505. B.*

Orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, quum illic martyrii renascitur generositate. *Scorpiac. cap. 15. p. 633. B.*

Caius, about 212. observes, that (*t*) in his time were to be seen at *Rome* the tombs of the Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, who had established that church.

Origen, about 230. as cited by *Eusebius*, says, that (*u*) *Peter* having preached in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and other places, at length came to *Rome*, where he was crucified.

Cyprian (*x*) at *Carthage*, about 248. and afterwards, always supposeth the church of *Rome* to have been established by *Peter*. So (*y*) likewise does *Firmilian*, in *Cappadocia*, in his letter, writ in 256.

Lac.

(*t*) ... ἐυρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων ἐκκλησιῶν. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68. in. And see in this work Vol. iii. p. 23.*

(*u*) *Ap. Euseb. l. 3. cap. i.*

(*x*) Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio ... cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedrae sacerdotalis vacaret. *Cyprian. ad Antonian. ep. 55. p. 104.*

Post ista adhuc insuper pseudo-episcopo sibi ab haereticis constituto, navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram, atque ecclesiam principalem ... a schismaticis et profanis literas ferre. ... *Cyprian. Cornelio. ep. 59. p. 135. Oxon. 1682.*

(*y*) Atque ego in hac parte jussu indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit ... multas alias petras inducat. ... *Stephanus, qui*

Lactantius (x) about 306. in his *Institutions*, ascribes the death of *Peter* and *Paul* to *Nero* at *Rome*.

The same *Lactantius*, or whoever is the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, is very clear, that (a) in the reign of *Nero*, *Peter*, came to *Rome*, and that by his order *Peter* was crucified, and *Paul* also put to death.

Eusebius, both in his *Demonstration*, and in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, bears witness to the same things. Not now to insist on his *Chronicle*. In the former (b) he says, "that *Peter* was crucified at *Rome* with his "head downward, and *Paul* beheaded." In his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, speaking of
Nero,

per successionem cathedram Petri habere se praedicat, nullo adversus haereticos zelo excitatur. *Firmilian. ep. Cyprian.* 75. p. 225.

(x) Itaque post illorum obitum, cum eos *Nero* interemisset, Judaeorum nomen et gentem *Vespasianus* exstinxit, fecitque omnia, quae illi futura praedixerant. *Institut. l. 4. cap. 21. p. 423.*

(a) Cumque jam *Nero* imperaret, *Petrus* Romam advenit. . . et convertit multos ad justitiam. . . Quâ re ad *Neronem* delatâ, . . et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, *Petrum* cruci adfixit, et *Paulum* interfecit. *De Mort. Persec. cap. 2.*

(b) Καὶ πῆτρος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμῃς κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυρεῖται, πᾶνλος δὲ ἀποτέμενεται. *Dem. Ev. l. 3. p. 116. C.*

Nero, "as (c) the first persecutor of the Christians, he says, that he put to death the Apostles. At which time *Paul* was beheaded at *Rome*, and *Peter* crucified, as historie relates. And the account, he says, is confirmed by the monuments still seen in the cemeteries of that city, with their names inscribed upon them." And what follows. In another chapter of the same work he says, "that (d) *Linus* was the first Bishop of *Rome* after the martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter*." It is needless to refer to any more of the many places of this learned Bishop of *Cesarea*, where he appears to have been fully persuaded, that these two Apostles accomplished their martyrdom at *Rome*.

Athanasius (e) supposes both *Peter* and *Paul*

(c) Τάυτη γυν̄ οὗτος θεόμαχος ἐν τοῖς μόλις α πρώτος ἀνα-
χρηχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ ῥῃ σφαγὰς. Παῦ-
λος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ πέ-
τρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκοποισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἰσορῶνται. κ. λ.
H. E. l. 2. c. 25. p. 67. Vid. et l. 2. cap. 22. fin. p.
62. D.

(d) Τῆς δὲ ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν παύλε καὶ πέτρου
μαρτυρίαν, πρῶτος κληρεῖται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λῖνος. H. E. l.
3. cap. 2.

(e) Πέτρος δὲ ὁ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἰουδαίων κρυπτόμενος, καὶ
παῦλος

Paul to have suffered martyrdom in that city.

Ephrem the Syrian, about 370. says, that (f) *Peter* taught at *Rome*.

Epiphanius, as may be remembred, says, "that (g) *Matthew* wrote first, and *Mark* soon after, being a companion of *Peter* at *Rome*." In another place (h) he speaks of *Peter* and *Paul*, as the first Apostles and Bishops of *Rome*. After whom, he says, were *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clement*.

Jerome's opinion is well known from his article of *St. Peter*, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, where he says, "that (i) *Peter* was crucified at *Rome* in the fourteenth year of *Nero's* reign:" and from (k) his chapter of *St. Mark*, "whom he calls the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, and says, that at the desire of the brethren at *Rome* he wrote a short

παῦλος ἐν σαργάνῃ χαλασθεὶς, καὶ φυγὼν, ἀκέσαντες, εἰς ῥώμην δὲ ὑμᾶς μαρτυρῆσαι, ἐκ ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀποδημίαν. *Apol. pro fugâ suâ* p. 331.

(f) See in this work Vol. ix. p. 211. et opp. *hæc*. Tom. i. p. 453.

(g) See Vol. viii. p. 303. from *Haer.* 51. num. vi.

(h) Ἐν ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγονάσι πρῶτοι πέτρος καὶ παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, ἔτα λίνος. κ. λ. *Haer.* 27. n. vi.

(i) See Vol. x. p. 130.

(k) The same. p. 92.

a short Gospel, according to what he had heard from *Peter*." Not now to refer to any other places.

We lately saw, how (l) *Chrysostom* says, that *Peter* having been at *Antioch*, afterwards went to *Rome*. In another place he says, that (m) after *Peter* and *Paul Ignatius* also suffered martyrdom at *Rome*. And he thinks it a wise disposal of Providence, that so many should bear the most signal testimonie to truth in a place, which was then the chief seat of impiety and superstition.

According to *Sulpicius Severus*, who wrote about the year 401. *Paul* (n) and *Peter* suffered martyrdom at *Rome* in *Nero's* persecution.

Prudentius, about 405. has several times celebrated the martyrdoms of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Rome*. One place was transcribed from him not long (o) agoe.

To

(l) See before. p. 175.

(m) Ὅτι δὲ τὴν ῥάμην οἰκῶντες, ἄτε πολλῆς τότε ἀσεβείας ἔσης ἐκεῖ, πλείονος ἔχρηζον βοηθείας. Διὰ τῆτο καὶ πέτρος καὶ παῦλος, καὶ μετ' ἐκένετο οὗτος ἐκεῖ πάντες ἐθίθησαν. *Chr. hom. in S. Ignat. Mart. T. 2. p. 599. A.*

(n) Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati. Quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. *Sul. Sev. Hist. Sacra. l. 2. cap. 29. al. 41.*

(o) See before. p. 187.

To him I subjoyn *P. Orosius* (p) about 416.

And *Theodore*t, about 423. well observes, that (q) though *Nero* put to death two of the principal Christian Lawgivers, *Peter* and *Paul*, he could not abolish their laws.

I omit *Augustin*, and many others, who speak to the like purpose. But I would add, for shewing how general this tradition is, that *Abdias Babylonius*, as he is called, in his Apostolical Historie, supposes *Peter* (r) to have been at *Rome*, and to have suffered martyrdom there.

Nor can any of my readers forbear to recollect the general, and almost unanimous testimonie of ancient writers concerning *St. Mark*: that he was a disciple of *St. Peter*, that his Gospel is the substance of *St. Peter's* preaching, and that it was writ at *Rome*.

It

(p) Nam primus Romae Christianos suppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciarı imperavit. Ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus, beatissimos Christi apostolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. *Oros. Hist. l. 7. cap. 7.*

(q) See of this work Vol. xi. p. 105. from *Theod. Sermon. 9. De Legibus Tom. 4. p. 611. D.*

(r) *Apostol. Hist. de Petro. §. xvi. Eccl. Ap. Fabr. Tom. 2.*

It is not needful to make many remarks upon this tradition. But it is easie to observe, that it is the general, uncontradicted, disinterested testimonie of ancient writers; in the several parts of the world, *Greeks, Latins, Syrians*. As our Lord's prediction concerning the death of *Peter* is recorded in one of the four Gospels, it is very likely, that (*s*) Christians would observe the accomplishment of it. Which must have been in some place. And about this place there is no difference among Christian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named, beside *Rome*. Nor (*t*) did any other city ever glory in the martyrdom of *Peter*. There were in the second and third centuries disputes

be-

(*s*) Non infirmenda esse eâ de re antiquitatis testimonia, multa monent. 1. Convenientissimum sane fuit sciri locum, ubi Petro mors oblata est, ad illustrandum Christi de servi sui martyrio oraculum. . . . Locus autem in ignoratione jacet, si in Romana civitate Petrus cruci suffixus non fuit. *Basnag. ann. 64. n. x.*

(*t*) Glorise decorique maximo ecclesiis fuit, quod et doctrinâ et sanguine Apostolorum conderentur. Hinc exclamabat olim Tertullianus: *Felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt.* Quî fit ergo, ut nulla præter Romanam ecclesia in morte Petri exultârît et triumphârît? *Id. ib.*

between the Bishop of *Rome* and other Bishops and churches about the time of keeping Easter, and about the baptism of heretics. Yet (*u*) none denied the Bishop of *Rome* to have what they called the chair of *Peter*.

It is not for our honour, nor our interest, either as Christians, or Protestants, to deny the truth of events, ascertained by early and well attested tradition. If any make an ill use of such facts, we are not accountable for it. We (*x*) are not from

(*u*) Cum gravissimos in adversarios inciderint olim Episcopi Romani, Cyprianos, Firmilianos, aliosque bene multos, nonne eorum aliquis eam perstrinxisset: et gloriationem, quâ Romana se efferebat ecclesia, utpote quae nunquam praesentia Petri, sanguineque floruerit, etsi ad ravim usque utroque ornamento superbiret? *Id. ib.*

(*x*) Neque ulla unquam traditio fuit, quae majore testium numero cingatur: ut de Petri in Urbem adventu dubitari non possit, quin omnia historiae fundamenta convellantur. *Basn. ann. 64. n. ix.*

Tantus hac in re omnium consensus fuit, ut sane miraculo debuerit esse, quosdam nostris seculis ortos, factum adeo manifestum negare praesumpsisse. *Barrat, de Success. Ep. Rom. cap. i. num. i.*

Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Quae, malum, impudentia est, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare: Petrum scilicet sedem fix-

from a dread of such abuses, to overthrow the credit of all historie. The consequence of which would be fatal.

Fables and fictions have been mixed with the accounts of *Peter's* being at *Rome*. But they are not in the most early writers. They have been added since. And it is well known, that fictions have been joyned with histories of the most certain and important facts.

The two traditions, concerning *Peter's* being at *Rome* and *Paul's* preaching in *Spain*, ought not to be compared together. They are not at all alike. The later is not attested by so many, nor so early writers, as the other. And is, probably, a mere conjecture, without any foundation, but the words of Rom. xv. 28. Which are no proof at all.

This argument may be censured by some as prolix, and even needless. But

as

isse Babylone: id vero quod veteres omnes ecclesiastici scriptores disertissime prodiderunt, adventum videlicet Petri Apostoli in urbem Romam pertinaciter negare. Atqui nihil in tota historia ecclesiastica illustrius, nihil certius, atque testatius, quam adventus Petri Apostoli in urbem Romam. *Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. 2. c. 15.*

as some, of our own times, as well as formerly, have denied, or disputed this point ; I have thought it expedient, to let my readers see the evidences of what appears to my-self, as well as to many other Protestants, very certain : that *St. Peter* was at *Rome*, and suffered martyrdom there.





C H A P. XIX.

The two Epistles of St. Peter.

- I. *Their Genuinnessse shewn from Testimonie, and internal Characters.*
- II. *The People, to whom they were sent.*
- III. *The Place, where.*
- IV. *The Time, when they were writ.*
- V. *Remarks upon 1. Pet. v. 13.*

HAVING writ the historie of the
 H Apostle *Peter*, I now proceed to
 his epistles. Concerning which
 three or four things are to be considered
 by us: their genuinnessse, the persons to
 whom

whom they were sent, the place where, and the time when they were writ.

I. The first epistle was all along received by catholic Christians, as authentic, and genuine. This we learn from (a) *Eusebius*. Who likewise says: "Of (b) the controverted books of the New Testament, but yet well known, and approved by many, are that called the epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second of *Peter*, and the second and third of *John*." And in another place: "One (c) epistle of *Peter*, called the first, is universally received. This the Presbyters of ancient times have quoted in their writings, as undoubtedly genuine. But that called his second, we have been informed, [by tradition,] has not been received as a part of the New Testament. Nevertheless appearing to many to be useful, it has been carefully studied with the other scriptures." By which, I think, we may be assured, that a great regard was shewn to this

P 4

epistle

*Their Genuine-
ness.*

(a) See Vol. viii. p. 96. 97. 99. 100. 102. 103. 113. 114. 156. 157.

(b) Vol. viii. p. 96.

(c) P. 99.

epistle by many Christians in the time of our learned Ecclesiastical Historian.

Jerome says: "*Peter* (d) wrote two epistles, called catholic: the second of which is denied by many to be his, because of the difference of the stile from the former."

And *Origen* before them, in his Commentaries upon the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, as cited by (e) *Eusebius*, says: "*Peter* (f) "on whom the Church is built, has left one "epistle, [universally] acknowledged. Let "it be granted, that he also wrote a second. "For it is doubted of."

What those learned writers of the third and fourth centuries say of these two epistles, we have found agreeable to the testimonie of more ancient writers, whom we have consulted. For the first epistle seems to be referred to by (g) *Clement* of Rome. It is plainly referred to by (h) *Polycarp* several times. It is also referred to by the (i) Mar-
tyrs

(d) Vol. x. p. 130.

(e) H. E. l. 6. cap. 25. p. 227. A.

(f) See Vol. iii. p. 236.

(g) See Vol. i. p. 97. and 100.

(h) Vol. i. p. 215. . . . 218. See also p. 192.

(i) Vol. i. p. 340.

tyrs at Lyons. It was received by (k) *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*. It was quoted (l) by *Papias*. It is quoted in the remaining writings of (m) *Irenaeus*, (n) *Clement of Alexandria*, and (o) *Tertullian*. Consequently, it was all along received. But we do not perceive the second epistle to be quoted by (p) *Papias*, nor (q) by *Irenaeus*, nor (r) *Tertullian*, nor (s) *Cyprian*.

However, both these epistles were generally received in the fourth, and following centuries, by all Christians, except the *Syrians*. For they were received by *Athanasius*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, the Council of *Laodicea*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Rufin*, *Augustin*, and others. As may be seen in the alphabetical table, in *St. Peter*, at the end of the twelfth volume, to which the reader is referred.

Such are the testimonies of ancient writers concerning these two epistles. If we
con-

(k) *Vol. ii. p. 434. and 447.*

(l) *Vol. i. p. 242. 250. 253.*

(m) *Vol. i. p. 374.*

(n) *Vol. ii. p. 508.*

(o) *Vol. ii. p. 616.*

(p) *Vol. i. p. 250.*

(q) *Vol. i. p. 374. 375. 381.*

(r) *Vol. ii. p. 617. . . . 622.*

(s) *Vol. iv. p. 829.*

consult the epistles themselves, and endeavor to form a judgement by internal evidence; I suppose, it will appear very probable, that both are of the same author. And it may seem somewhat strange, that any of the ancients hesitated about it, who had the two epistles before them. For with regard to some of the most ancient writers, it may be supposed, that the second epistle had not been seen by them, it not having come to their hands together with the first.

The first epistle being allowed to be St. *Peter's*, we can argue in favour of the other also after this manner. It bears in the inscription the name of the same Apostle. For so it begins: *Simon Peter, a servant, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ*. And in ch. i. 14. are these words: *Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed me*. The writer of this epistle may have had a particular revelation concerning the time of his death, not long before writing this. But it is probable, that here is a reference to our Lord's predictions concerning St. *Peter's* death, and the manner of it, which are recorded in John xxi. 18. 19.

From

From ch. i. 16. 17. 18. it appears, that the writer was one of the disciples, who were with Jesus in the mount, when he was transfigured in a glorious manner. This certainly leads us to *Peter*, who was there, and whose name the epistle bears in the inscription.

Ch. iii. 1. *This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you: in both which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance:* plainly referring to the former epistle, which has been always acknowledged for *Peter's*. These words are express. But it might have been argued with some degree of probability from ch. i. 12. . . . 15. that he had before writ to the same persons.

Once more, ch. iii. 15. 16. he calls *Paul* brother, and otherwise so speaks of him, and his epistles, as must needs be reckoned most suitable to an Apostle.

The writer therefore is the Apostle *Peter*, whose name the epistle bears in the inscription.

So that we are here led to that observation, which *Wall* placed at the head of his notes upon this second epistle. "It is, says (*t*)
"he,

(*t*) *Critical Notes upon the N. T.* p. 358. 359.

“ he, a good proof of the cautiousness of
“ the ancient Christians in receiving any
“ book for canonical, that they not only re-
“ jected all those pieces forged by heretics,
“ under the names of Apostles : . . . but al-
“ so, if any good book affirmed by some
“ men, or by some churches, to have been
“ written and sent by some Apostle, were
“ offered to them, they would not, till fully
“ satisfied of the fact, receive it into their
“ canon.” He adds : “ There is more ha-
“ zard in denying this to be *Peter's*, than
“ there is in denying some other books to be
“ of that author, to whom they are by tra-
“ dition ascribed. For they, if they be not
“ of that Apostle, to whom they are im-
“ puted, yet may be of some other Apostle,
“ or apostolical man. But this author is
“ either the Apostle, or else by setting his
“ name, and by other circumstances, he
“ does designedly personate him. Which
“ no man of piety and truth would do.”
And then he concludes : “ This epistle be-
“ ing written by him but a little before his
“ death. ch. i. 14. and perhaps no more than
“ one copie sent ; it might be a good while,
“ before a number of copies, well attested,
“ came

"came abroad to the generality of the Christian churches."

What has been just said is sufficient to confute the opinion advanced by *Grotius*, that (*u*) this second epistle was writ by *Siméon*, Bishop of *Jerusalem* after *James*, the Lord's brother. Indeed that opinion cannot be admitted. It is destitute of all authority from antiquity, and is inconsistent with the whole tenour of the epistle itself, or at least with many things in it. As has been well observed by (*x*) *Vitringa*, and has been now shewn by us.

Jerome, in his article of *St. Peter*, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, as already seen, says: "*Peter* (*y*) wrote two epistles, called
ca-

(*u*) *Scriptorem autem hujus epistolae arbitror esse Simeonem, Episcopum post Jacobi mortem Hierosolymis, ejusdemque Jacobi, cujus epistolam habemus, successorem et imitorem. &c. Grot. in 2. ep. S. Petri.*

(*x*) *Verum quacumque etiam specie se commendat conjectatio haec Grotiana, hactenus animum inducere non potui, ut eam probem. Epistola Petri posterior talis est, ut scripta censeretur nequeat ab impostore. Est enim gravis, et sancto viro dignissima. Quod si ita est, certissime Petro erit vindicanda, quia praeter praefationem, non temere rejiciendam, alia per hanc epistolam sparsa sunt, quae personam Petri nobis digito quasi monstrant, ut cap. i. 18. iii. 15. Vitring. observat. Sacr. l. 4. cap. 9. num. xlii.*

(*y*) *Scriptit duas epistolas, quae catholicae nominantur :
qua-*

catholic : the second of which was by many denied to be his, because of it's differing in stile from the former." Of (α) this he speaks likewise in his epistle to *Hedibia*. *Basnage* (α) says, he is not able to discern such difference of stile in the two epistles. However, Dr. *Sherlock*, now Bishop of *London*, has largely treated of this point in his Dissertation concerning the authority of the second epistle of St. *Peter*. Who observes, p. 203. " that the first and third of the three chapters, into which this epistle is now divided, agree in stile with the first epistle. The only difference is in the second chapter, the stile of which is no more like to that of the other two, than it is to that of the first epistle. The occasion of this difference seems

quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter stili cum priore dissonantiam. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(α) Habebat ergo Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum : cujus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duae epistolae, quae feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et caractere discrepant, structurâque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus. *Ad Hedib. Qu. xi. T. 4. P. i. p. 183. al. ep. 150.*

(α) Nos stili discrimen deprehendere non possumus. Neque continet aliquid, quod Apostolo sit indignum. *Basnag. A. 63. num. iii.*

seems to be this, that in the second chapter there is a description of the false prophets and teachers, who infested the Church, and perverted the doctrines of the gospel. Some ancient Jewish writer had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, or perhaps earlier times. Which description is applied both by *St. Peter* and *St. Jude* to the false teachers of their own times." It is added by his Lordship, p. 204. "*St. Jerome* supposed, and others have followed his opinion, that *St. Peter* made use of different interpreters, to express his sense in his two epistles. But had that been the case, the difference of stile would have appeared in the whole, and not in one part of it only. Which is the present case. And I see no reason to think, that *St. Peter* did not write both his epistles himself."

That is the account, which his Lordship gives of the difference of the stile. Which all will allow to be ingenious, whether they admit it to be right, or not. For some may think, that (*b*) all this difference of stile arises

(*b*) Concerning this see more hereafter in the remarks upon *St. Jude's epistle. chapt. xxi. near the end.*

rises from the subject treated of in the second chapter.

I conclude therefore, that the two epistles, generally ascribed to the Apostle *Peter*, are indeed his.

Mr. *Ostervald*, of *Neufchatel*, speaking of the first of these epistles, says: "It contains very weighty instructions, and is one of the finest books of the New Testament." Of the second he says: "It is a most excellent epistle, as well as the foregoing, and is writ with great strength and majesty."

Certainly, these epistles, and the discourses of *Peter* recorded in the Acts, together with the effects of them, are monuments of a divine inspiration, and of the fulfilment of the promise, which Christ made to him, when he saw him and his brother *Andrew* employed in their trade, and casting a net into the sea: *Follow me*, said he, and *I will make you fishers of men*. Matt. iv. 18.

To whom
sent.

II. Concerning the persons, to whom these epistles were sent, there have been different opinions among both ancients and moderns.

Eusebius

Eusebius (c) speaking of *St. Peter's* first epistle, as universally acknowledged, says :
 " It is inscribed by him to the Hebrews,
 " *scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cap-*
" padocia, Asia, and Bithynia." They who
 are desirous to know *Jerome's* opinion, may
 consider what is transcribed from him Vol.
 x. p. 130. . . . 133. For he does not seem
 to me to have any settled judgement about
 the persons, to whom *Peter* wrote. *Didy-*
mus, of *Alexandria*, supposed, (d) *St. Pe-*
ter's first epistle to have been sent to Jews
 scattered abroad in several countreys. To
 the same purpose *Oecumenius*, not only in his
 argument of the epistle, referred to by me
 (e) formerly, but also in his commentarie
 (f) upon the begining of the epistle.

Among the moderns not a few are of the
 same opinion, as *Beza* and *Grotius* in their
 notes upon the first verse of the first epistle,
 and

(c) See Vol. viii. p. 103.

(d) See Vol. ix. p. 173.

(e) Vol. xi. p. 414.

(f) Τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς οὗτος ἐπιστέλλει, ὡς ὁ μακάριος Ἰά-
 κωβος· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἀορίσως πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ὀικουμένην κατοι-
 κούσιν Ἰουδαίοις ὁπεδήποτε ὄυσιν. Οὗτος δὲ ἀφωρισμένως τοῖς
 ἐλίμασι πόντε, κ. λ. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 482. C. D.*

and *Mill* (g) in his *Prolegomena*. *Cave* says, *St. Peter's* (h) two epistles were writ chiefly to Jewish Christians. *Tillemont*, speaking of the first epistle, says, it (i) is addressed particularly to the converted Jews, in those countreys, but it speaks also to the Gentils, who had embraced the faith.

But though some of the ancients, as just seen, say, that *St. Peter* wrote to the believers of the circumcision, we have in the course of this work observed divers others, who say, he wrote to Gentils: as (k) the Author of the Calling of the Gentils, by some supposed to be *Prosper of Aquitain*: the (l) Author of the Divine Promises and Predictions: (m) *Junilius*. *Cassiodorus* in one place (n) speaks of *Peter's* writing to the Gentils, in another (o) to believing Jews. *Augustin* has twice said, that (p) *Peter* wrote to Gentils. In like manner another author

(g) *Num.* 60.

(h) Reliquit post se epistolas duas, Judaeis Christianis praecipue inscriptas. *H. L. T.* i. p. 5.

(i) Il l'adresse particulièrement aux Juifs convertis dans toutes ces provinces, quoiqu'elle parle aussi aux Gentils qui avoient embrassé la foy. *S. Pierre* art. 33. *Mem. T.* i.

(k) *Vol.* xi. p. 136.

(l) *P.* 139.

(m) *P.* 297. 299.

(n) *Vol.* xi. p. 308.

(o) *P.* 313.

(p) *Vol.* x. p. 248.

author (*q*) in a sermon joyned with his works, who may be supposed to have been his disciple. *Gregorie* the i. Bishop of *Rome*, expresseth himself, as if he thought, that (*r*) *St. Peter's* epistles were sent to all Christians in general, both Jews and Gentils, in the countreys mentioned at the beginning of the first epistle. *Bede*, in his prologue to the seven catholic epistles, largely cited by us formerly, says, that (*s*) *St. Peter's* epistles were sent to such as had been profelyted from Gentilism to Judaism, and after that were converted to the Christian Religion. He speaks again to the like purpose at the beginning of his Exposition of *St. Peter's* first epistle. But the Greek word, rendred by us *strangers*, is not equivalent to profelytes : as was observed long ago by (*s*) *Oecumenius* upon the place, and since by (*t*) *Basnage*.

Q 2

Mr.

(*q*) *The same.*(*r*) *Vol. xi. p. 353. 354.*(*s*) *The same. p. 388.*(*s*) Σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα οὐ ταυτὸν τῷ προσηλυτῷ. κ. λ.
Oecum. Vol. 2. p. 483. D.(*t*) Fallitur egregie Beda. . . . A qua se sententia revocasset, si vocem a Petro adhibitam, ἐπίδωμος, attendisset, quâ religionis profelytus numquam designatur. *Basn. An. 57. n. iv.*

Mr. *Wetstein* argues from divers texts, that (u) the first epistle was sent to Gentils. Mr. *Hallett* in his learned Introduction to the epistle to the *Hebrews* observes: "Some, says he, go upon the supposition, that St. *Peter's* epistles were written to Jews. But it seems to me abundantly more natural to suppose, that they were written to Gentil Christians, if we consider many passages of the epistles themselves." Where (x) he proceeds to allege many passages, and, in my opinion, very pertinently. Some of which will be also alleged by me by and by.

Dr. *Sykes* (y) has lately declared himself in

(u) Ad eos, qui ex Gentibus electi sunt, ut Christo et veritati obedirent. Cap. i. 8. 18, 21. 22. ii. 10. iv. 3. *Wetsten.* N. T. Tom. 2. p. 681.

(x) See his Introduction. p. 23. . . . 25.

(y) "This epistle of St. *Peter*, says he, was writ to the strangers scattered through several parts of the Lesser Asia. And it is plain, that he meant by them Gentils converted in those parts of the world to Christ. He does not mean Jews, but such as were elect, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father. Such, of whose salvation the Prophets inquired, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto them. ch. i. ver. 10. such, for whom Christ was manifested in these last times. ver. 20. such as were λαός εις ἀποκτήσιν, an acquired people, who had not obtained mercy: ch. ii. 9. 10. as sheep going astray,

in favour of the same sentiment, and argued well for it.

Mr. *Basnage* supposed, that (x) *St. Peter's* epistles were writ to Jews and Gentils, chiefly the former.

To me it seems, that *St. Peter's* epistles were sent to all Christians in general, Jews and Gentils, living in *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia*: the greatest part of whom must have been converted by *Paul*, and had been before involved in ignorance, and sin, as all people in general were, till the manifestation of the gospel of Christ.

Q 3

That

but now returned. ver. 25. as men, who in the time past of their life had wrought the will of the Gentils. iv. 3. These are marks sufficient to describe the people, to whom *St. Peter* wrote. . . . The Gentils were now begotten in Christ to a lively hope. They were become now what the Jews formerly were, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people. &c." *The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ.* Ch. iii. sect. 252. p. 62. 63. see likewise ch. v. num. 832. p. 306. 307.

(x) Ut nostra fert opinio, ad utrosque scripta est, praecipue tamen ad Judaeos, qui sub apostolatum Petri ceciderant. Ad Gentes quoque epistolam scriptam fuisse, ex his explorare percipitur: Qui quondam eratis non populus, nunc estis populus Dei. 1. ep. ii. 10. Quae Ethnlicorum praecipue sunt. . . . Praeterea Ethnlicorum idolatria his perstringitur: Incessimus in nefariis idolorum cultibus. iv. 3. *Basn. ann. 57. num. iv.*

That St. Peter wrote to all Christians in those countreys, is apparent from the valedictorie blessing, or wish, at the end of the epistle. 1. ep. v. 14. *Peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus.* Lewis Cappell, who thought, that St. Peter's first epistle was writ to Jewish believers, allows, that (a) the second epistle was writ to all Christians in general, and particularly to Gentils: induced thereto by the comprehensiveness of the addresse at the begining of that epistle: *to them that have obtained like precious faith with us.* He should have concluded as much of the first epistle likewise. For they were both sent to the same people, as is evident from St. Peter's own words. 2. ep. iii. 1.

Moreover, the inscription of the first epistle seems to be as general, as that of the second. Let us observe it distinctly.

To

(a) Ad posteriorem autem B. Petri epistolam. . . . Nec fuit ea scripta, quemadmodum prior, solis Judaeis τοῖς ἐκ Διασπορᾶς, sed omnibus in universum fidelibus, tum ex Judaeis, tum ex Gentibus, ad Christum conversis. Quod liquet tum ex ver. 1. cap. i. τοῖς ἰσότηραν ἡμῖν λαχῶσι πίστιν. (quod de Gentibus proprie dicitur.) tum ex eo quod cap. iii. 15. 16. dicit Paulum ad eos scripsisse in omnibus suis epistolis. Atqui pleraeque omnes Pauli epistolae scriptae sunt ad Gentes ad fidem Christi conversas. Cappell. Hist. Apost. p. 44.

To the elect, ἐκλεκτοῖς. Says *Wall* upon the place: "He useth the word ἐκλεκτοὶ, *choice ones*, just as *St. Paul* does the word ἅγιοι, *saints*, for the word *Christians*. And as *St. Paul* directs almost all his epistles to the *saints*, that is, the *Christians*, of such a place; so *St. Peter* here, to the *elect*, or *choice ones*, that is, *Christians*, sojourning in the dispersions of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*."

Strangers, παρεπιδήμοις. Good men, though at home, are strangers, especially, if they meet with opposition, trouble, and affliction, as those *Christians* did, to whom *St. Peter* is here writing. For he speaks of their trials, and temptations. ch. i. ver. 6. 7. and exhorts them. ch. ii. 11. as sojourners, and strangers, ὡς παρόικες καὶ παρεπιδήμους, to abstain from fleshly lusts. Says *Oecumenius* upon ch. i. ver. 1. 2. "He calls (*b*) them "strangers, either on account of their dispersion, or because that all who live religiously, are called *strangers* on this earth,

Q 4

" as

(*b*) Εκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις.] Τὸ παρεπιδήμοις, ἥτοι διὰ τὴν διάσποραν εἶπεν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ κατὰ θεὸν ζῶντες παρεπιδήμοι λέγονται τῆς γῆς, ὡς καὶ δαβὶδ φησιν. κ. λ. *Oecum.* T. 2. p. 483.

"as David also says : *I am a sojourner with thee, and a stranger, as all my fathers were.*" Ps. xxxix. 12.

Scattered throughout Pontus . . . or, of (c) the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, . . . So he calls them, not because they had been driven out from their native countrey, but because he writes to the Christians of divers countreys, who also were but a few, or a small number, in every place, where they dwelled.

This may suffice for shewing, that these two epistles were sent to all Christians in general, living in the countreys, mentioned at the begining of the first epistle.

I shall now shew, that these Christians were for the most part of gentile stock and original.

1. Pet. i. 14. *As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves, according to the former lusts in your ignorance.* This might be very pertinently said to men, converted from Gentilism to Christianity. But no such thing is ever said by the Apostles, concerning the Jewish people, who had been favored with Divine revelation, and had the knowledge of

(c) Ελεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς πόντου. . .

of the true God. And ver. 20. and 21. he says, that *through Christ they did now believe in God.* Therefore they were not worshipers of God, till they were acquainted with the Christian revelation. In like manner ch. ii. 9. St. Peter speaks of those to whom he writes, as *having been called out of darknesse into God's marvellous light.* Moreover, they once were not God's people. ver. 10. *Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercie, but now have obtained mercie.* Words resembling those of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 24. 25. where he is unquestionably speaking of Gentil converts.

There are also other expressions, which plainly shew, that these persons had been Gentils, and had lived in the sins of Gentilism. ch. i. 18. *Forasmuch as ye know, that ye were redeemed from your vain conversation, received by tradition from your fathers.* And ch. iv. 3. *For the time past of our life may suffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentils: when we walked in lasciviousnesse, lusts, excessse of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.* St. Peter does not charge himself with such things. But they to whom he writes had been guilty in those respects.

respects. And by way of condescension, and for avoiding offense, and for rendering his argument more effectual, he joyns himself with them.

Once more, when St. *Peter* represents the dignity of those to whom he writes, upon account of their Christian vocation, ch. ii. 9. as *a chosen generation, a peculiar people, a royal priesthood*: certainly, the expressions are most pertinent, and emphatical, if understood of such as had been brought from Gentilism to the faith of the gospel, as indeed they plainly were. For he there says, *they were to shew forth the praises of him, who had called them out of darknesse into his marvellous light.*

To all which might be added, what was hinted before, that the persons, to whom *Peter* writes, were for the most part the Apostle *Paul's* converts. This must be reckoned probable from the accounts, which we have in the Acts of St. *Paul's* travels and preaching. Whence we know, that he had been in *Galatia*, and the other countreys, mentioned by St. *Peter* at the begining of his first epistle. Moreover he observes 2. ep. iii. 15. that *his beloved brother Paul had written unto them.* We may reasonably suppose, that

that he thereby intends *St. Paul's* epistles to the *Galatians*, the *Ephesians*, and *Colossians*, all in those countreys, and for the most part Gentil believers. Nor do I see reason to doubt, but that *Peter* had before now seen, and read *St. Paul's* two epistles to *Timothie*. And if we should add them, as here intended also, it would be no prejudice to our argument. For those epistles likewise were designed for the use and benefit of the churches in those parts.

To me these considerations appear unanswerable. I shall therefore take notice of but one objection only, which is grounded upon ch. ii. 12. *Having your conversation honest among the Gentils: that whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.*

Upon the first clause in that verse *Beza* says, that (d) this place alone is sufficient to shew, that this epistle was sent to Jews. But, I think not. From *St. Paul* may be alleged a text of the like sort. 1. Cor. x. 32.

Give

(d) *Inter Gentes, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.*] Vel unus hic locus tribus illis dispersis proprie fuisse inscriptam hanc epistolam convincit. *Bez. in loc.*

Give no offense, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentils, [καὶ ἔλλησι,] nor to the Church of God. It might be as well argued from that text, that the *Corinthians* were by descent neither *Jews*, nor *Greeks*, as from this, that the persons, to whom St. Peter wrote, were not originally Gentils. In the text of St. Paul, just alleged, by *Jews*, and *Gentils*, or *Greeks*, are intended such as were unbelievers. So it is likewise in the text of St. Peter, which we are considering: as is apparent from the later part of the verse, above transcribed at large. St. Peter had a right to distinguish those, to whom he writes, from the Gentil people, among whom they lived: as he had at the beginning of his epistle called them *elect*, or *choice ones*, and *strangers*, and they likewise went by the name of *Christians*, as we perceive from ch. iv. 16.

St. Peter's two epistles, then, were sent to all *Christians* in general, living in those countreys: the greatest part of whom had been converted from *Gentilism*, or *Heathenism*.

*The Place,
where they
were writ.*

III. Our next inquirie is concerning the place, where these epistles were writ.

At

At the end of the first epistle St. Peter says: *The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you.* Which text, understood literally, has been thought by some to denote *Babylon* in *Assyria*, or *Babylon* in *Egypt*. By others it is interpreted figuratively, and supposed to denote *Jerusalem*, or *Rome*. So that there are four opinions concerning the place, where this epistle is dated. All which must be considered by us.

1. *Pearson* by *Babylon* supposes to be meant (*e*) a town, or city, of that name in *Egypt*. But it seems to me, that (*f*) little can be said for this opinion. *Babylon* in *Egypt* is an obscure place. It was a frontier town,

(*e*) Explodatur figurata, admittatur literalis expositio. Non opus erit, ut in *Assyriam* nos conferamus, si nudo urbis nomine standum esse arbitremur. Alia enim erat urbs *Babylonis* nomine insignita, eaque *Judaeae* multo vicinior, a *Babyloniis* post dira *Prophetarum* vaticinia, *Ptolomaeorum* permissu condita et habitata. *Pearson. de Succ. Rom. Episc. Diss. i. num. vii. &c.*

(*f*) Duas enim vetus terrarum orbis habuit *Babylones*, alteram clarissimam illam *Chaldaeorum* regiam, alteram castellum quoddam *Aegypti* a *Babyloniis* conditum. Posteriores hic nominari, nemo crediturus fuisse videtur, nisi fama fuisset vulgata, prioris *Babylonis* aetate nihil superfuisset, certe nullos prorsus ei fuisse incolas. *Heuman, Nova Sylloge Dissertat. P. 2. p. 100.*

town, or strong castle, with a garrison, as it is described by (g) *Strabo* : in whose time, the reign of *Tiberius*, was quartered one of the three Roman Legions, appointed to keep the *Egyptian* people in order. In such a place, as may be supposed, there (h) were but few Jews, and not many inhabitants of any sort, beside soldiers. This opinion likewise is altogether without the authority of ancient Christians. If *St. Peter* had writ an epistle in *Egypt*, in all probability, it (i) would have been dated at *Alexandria*. But there is not in early antiquity any intimation, that (k) the Apostle *Peter* was at all

(g) Αναπλέουσιν δ' ἐς βασιλῶν φέρειον ἐρυμνόν . . . νυνὶ δ' ἐς στρατόπεδον ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων τῶν φρυγέων τὴν αἴγυπτον. *Strab. l. 17. p. 807. al. p. 1160.*

(h) Abundasse Judaeis Aegyptiacam Babylonem, vix probabile videtur, propter et constitutum in ea civitate Romanorum praesidium, cum signis et aquilis suis, quae Judaeis odio erant, et vicinitatem Alexandriae, in qua libentius degebant. *Basnag. Ann. 46. num. xxv.*

(i) Si Petrus in Aegyptiaca Babylone versatus est, cui probabile fiet, non petivisse Alexandriam, civitatem totius orbis secundum Romam nobilissimam, magnoque Judaeorum numero frequentem : cum Alexandriae in vicinia extaret Babylon, et moris esset Apostolorum, aliqua in regione vestigium ponentium, Metropoles adire, ut majus theatrum haberet evangelii praedicatio, quae inde veluti ex fonte manabat urbibus provincialibus irrigandis. *Id. ibid.*

(k) Quod vero in Aegypto unquam versatus fuerit, ne levissima

at *Alexandria*, or in any part of *Egypt*. If *St. Peter* had been at *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and had founded a church there, it would have been a church of great renown among Christians: whereas (1) there is not for the first four centuries any notice taken of a church, or Bishop in that place.

Le Clerc, who (m) follows *Pearson*, says, in his notes upon 1. Pet. v. 13. "Thereby (n) is to be understood, not *Babylon*, which lay

levissima quidem antiquitatis umbra obtendi potest. *Carv. de Petro. H. L. p. 6.*

Quis vero Veterum dixit, Petrum se *Alexandriam* contulisse? Hocine dissimulassent tot eruditi scriptores, quos *Alexandrina* peperit ecclesia? *Basnag. ib.*

(1) Lique omnes ecclesias apostolicas magnae existimationis fuisse Veteribus. Hinc illud *Tertullianum*: *Percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis praesident.* Proinde quae ecclesia, quae *Memphitica* *Babylone* fuit, apostolicis esset inferenda, et multo honore cumulata fuisset, utpote a *Petro* fundata. Jam vero tam obscura fuit *Babylonica* illa ecclesia, ut labentibus quadringentis amplius annis, in antiquitatis monumentis nullo vestigio reperiatur: nullâ fuit *Episcoporum* successione, nullâ *Martyrum* passione nobilis. Quod de ecclesiâ apostolicâ, et in Imperio Romano constitutâ, vix cogitatione fingi potest. *Basn. ubi supra.*

(m) *Vid. ejus H. E. anno. 61. num. vii. et Annot. ad Hammondii Praemonitionem in 1. Petri epistolam.*

(n) Il faut entendre non la *Babylone*, qui étoit à l'orient de

lay on the east side of the *Euphrates*, and where *Peter* never was, but a city in *Egypt*, so called, and lying not far from the place, where now is *Cairo*." But what proof is there of *Peter's* ever having been in *Egypt*, more than of his having been in *Assyria*?

2. *Lewis Cappell* conjectured, that (o) by *Babylon* is to be understood *Jerusalem*. But it is a mere conjecture, quite destitute of foundation in antiquity. And therefore, in my opinion, no more to be received, than the preceding interpretation.

3. Divers others learned men think, that by *Babylon* is meant *Babylon* in *Assyria*. So (p) *Beza*, (q) *Lightfoot*, (r) *Basnage*. *Carve*, who

de l'Euphrate, et ou S. Pierre n'a jamais été: mais une ville d'Egypte, qui se nommoit ainsi, et qui n'étoit pas loin de lieu ou est-bâti le Caire. *Le Clerc. sur 1. ep. de S. Pierre. v. 13.*

(o) Ego potius conjicerem Jerosolymae fuisse scriptam, et Jerosolymam a Petro fuisse dictam figurate Babylonem: quod tum temporis Jerusalem non esset amplius urbs sancta, sed spiritualis quaedam Babylon, in qua ecclesia Dei captiva quasi tenebatur, et gravi servitute premebatur, quatenus pridem a Judaeis persecutionem pati coeperat. *Capp. Hist. Ap. p. 42.*

(p) Babylona proprie accipio pro celebri illa Assyriae urbe, in qua tum esset Petrus, circumcisionis Apostolus. *Bez. in 1. Pet. v. 13.*

(q) See his Sermon upon 1. Pet. v. 13. Vol. 2. p. 1141. ... 1147. and many other places in his works.

(r) *Basn. Ann. 46. num. xxvii.*

who supposeth, (*s*) the first epistle of *St. Peter* to have been writ at *Babylon* in *Assyria*, thinks, that (*t*) his second epistle was writ at *Rome*.

They who reject this opinion, say, that (*u*) the *Assyrian Babylon* was at that time almost deserted. On the contrarie, they who embrace it, say, there (*x*) were multitudes of Jews in that countrey. Which may be true. For there were many Jews in most countreys. But it would have been more to the purpose, to produce some evidence from antiquity, that *Peter* was in that countrey. The primitive Christians had in their hands *St. Peter's* first epistle. And it was

(*s*) Verum ego priorem sententiam tanquam longe verifilliozem amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthica magna esset Judaeorum frequentia. &c. *Cav. in Petro. H. L. p. 6.*

(*t*) Epistola secunda Romae, ut videtur, paullo ante mortem scripta. *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) An urbem illam S. Petrus adire maxime concupivit, quam Prophetarum vaticinio, et justo Dei judicio percussam esse novit? *Pearson. ubi supr. §. iv.* Paullatim igitur defecit Babylon, a Regibus primo, deinde a populo deserta. *lb. num. v.*

(*x*) In Assyria, ubi Babylon, immensa fuit Judaeorum multitudo, quos sub Petrinum cecidisse apostolatam, certum, exploratumque est: ut nusquam gentium provinciam administrare suam feliciter potuerit. *Basnag. ann. 46. num. xxvii.*

was universally received, as his. And it is dated at *Babylon*. And yet ecclesiastical historie affords no accounts, that this Apostle was in *Assyria*, or *Chaldea*. Is not this a proof, that (y) there was not any very ancient tradition, that he was in that country? We just now observed passages of *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Jerome*, *Chrysostom*, relating to St. Peter's travels. But none have mentioned *Babylon*, as a place, where he traveled, and preached the gospel.

Says Mr. *Beaufobre*: "As (z) Peter
" was

(y) Sant qui in dicta Petri epistola Babylonis nomine non Romam, sed Babylonem ipsam, quae caput fuit Assyriorum, designari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Certe qui Petrum Babylone sedisse volunt, ostendant nobis oportet successionem Episcoporum, qui Babylonis ecclesiam post Petrum administrarunt;... Quae, malum, impudentia est, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare: Petrum scilicet sedem fixisse Babylone: id vero quod veteres omnes scriptores disertissime prodiderunt, pertinaciter negare! *Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 2. cap. 15. p. 33.*

Negant enim, Petrum Romae fuisse: quod testatur antiquitas. Affirmant autem Babylone fuisse, vel in Aegypto, vel in Chaldaea. Quod nulla prodit historia. *Esb. in 1. Pet. v. 13.*

(z) Comme il étoit l'Apôtre des Juifs dispersez parmi les Payens,

“ was the Apostle of the Jews scattered a-
 “ broad among the Gentils, St. *James* ha-
 “ ving stayed in *Judea*, he went to *Baby-*
 “ *lon*, where a great number of the *Israelites*
 “ had remained.” But may I not take the
 liberty to ask a question, and say: Who as-
 signed to these Apostles those several pro-
 vinces, with such limitations? St. *James*
 staid in *Judea*. It is allowed. We are
 certain of it from the historie in the Acts.
 Nevertheless he did not confine his regards
 to the Jews in the land of *Israel*. For he
 wrote an epistle, addressed to the twelve tribes
 scattered abroad. And if *Peter* also was an
 Apostle, chiefly, of the circumcision; it
 was not of those only, who were in Gentil
 countreys, but of those likewise, who were
 in *Judea*: where, as I apprehend, he spent
 the greatest part of his life, even after our
 Saviour's ascension.

Mr. *Beausobre* says, “ *Peter* went to *Ba-*
bylon, where a great number of *Israelites*
 had remained.” That is, he imagined, that

R 2

he

Payens, S. Jacques étant demeuré en Judée, il alla à Babylo-
 ne, et dans les provinces voisines, on il étoit resté un bon
 nombre d'Israelites. *Hist. de Manich. l. 2. ch. 3. T. i. p.*
 181.

he did so. And it was fit for him so to do. As *Basnage*, in a passage (*a*) cited not long ago, says: "There was a multitude of Jews in *Assyria*, where was *Babylon*. Nor could he any where more successfully execute his apostolical commission." And because we imagine, that *Peter* might very fitly preach the gospel in *Assyria*, we conclude, that he went thither. But such reasonings, if calmly considered, are of no weight. It would be much better to allege some ancient testimonies, in behalf of St. *Peter's* Journey into *Assyria*, or *Parthia*.

Mr. *Wetstein* thinks, that St. *Peter's* first epistle was writ in the countrey of *Babylon*, in *Mesopotamia*. As there is somewhat new in his argument, I place below (*b*) a large part

(*a*) See p. 241. not. (*x*).

(*b*) Cur Babylon in Italia potius, aut Aegypto, quam in Mesopotamia, sit quaerenda, causam non video. Veteres quidem Romam intelligunt. . . . Quod recentiores observant, Babylonem proprie dictam, quo tempore Petrus haec scribebat, habitatam non fuisse, verum est. At (praeterquam quod ex Stephano Byzantino et Lucano constat, etiam Seleuciam eo tempore nomine Babylonis fuisse appellatam,) possumus Babylonem interpretari non urbem, sed totam regionem. . . . Huic observationi addo aliam, quae licet mihi nunc primum in mentem venerit, suum tamen apud me pondus

part of it. In particular, he says, that when a person writes to the people of several cities, or countreys, it is natural to begin with that which is nearest to him. So does *Paul*. Col. iv. 3. and *St. John* in *Patmos*. Rev. i. and ii. The like order, says he, is also accurately observed by *St. Peter*, if he wrote from *Mesopotamia*, not if we suppose him to have writ from *Italie*, or *Egypt*.

But such observations, though ingenious and plausible, are not demonstrative and decisive, even when they are just and right. Which cannot be said of this. For supposing *St. Peter* to have been in *Mesopotamia*, the countrey nearest to him, would be *Cappadocia*, as lying more eastward, and more southward, than the two first named. Certainly *Pontus* and *Galatia* were farther off from *Mesopotamia*, than *Cappadocia*. The

R 3

truth

us habet. Nimirum ubi de pluribus vel provinciis vel urbibus loquimur, vel ubi ad plures scribimus, ordini naturae convenientius et simplicius videtur, ut incipiamus non ab ea, quae loquentibus vel scribentibus est remotissima, sed proxima. Hunc ordinem servavit Paulus Col. iv. 13. et Joannes ex Patmo. Apoc. i. et ii. Hunc ordinem accurate servavit etiam Petrus, si scripsit ex Mesopotamia, minime autem, si vel ex Aegypto, vel ex Italia, eum scripsisse existimemus. *Wetsten. in 2. Pet. v. 13. Tom. 2. p. 697. 698.*

truth is : St. *Peter* begins at the north, and so goes round. And that way of begining does as well suit *Rome*, as *Babylon*, so far as I can see.

Beside all this, there offers an argument, which appears to me decisive. If the *Affyrian Babylon* was not now subject to the *Romans*, but to (c) the *Parthians* : which I suppose to be allowed by all : it cannot be the place, intended by St. *Peter*. For the people, to whom he writes, were subject to the *Romans*. And at the time of writing this epistle he must have been within the territories of the same Empire. 1. ep. ii. 13. 14. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake : whether it be to the King, or rather Emperour, as formerly (d) shewn, as supreme : or unto Governours sent, (from Rome,) by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* Again, ver. 17. *Honor the King : or rather, the Emperour.* If St. *Peter* had not now been within the *Roman* territories, he would have been led to express himself

(c) Vid. Strab. l. 16. p. 1081. in. al. p. 745.

(d) See the first Part of this Work. Book i. ch. 2. §. xi. near the end. Or p. 176. of the third edition.

himself in a different manner, when he enforced obedience to the *Roman* Emperour.

This argument appears to me very obvious. And yet I do not know, that it has ever been thought of by any before. Which makes me almost suspect the validity of it: though I cannot discern, where the defect lies.

St. Peter requires subjection to *Governours*, sent by the *Emperour*: undoubtedly, meaning from *Rome*. I suppose, that way of speaking might be properly used in any part of the Empire. But it might have a special propriety, if the writer was then at *Rome*. Where indeed, in all probability, *Peter* then was.

4. So that we are now come to the fourth opinion concerning the date of this epistle. Which is, that by *Babylon* *St. Peter* figuratively means *Rome*. This is the opinion of (e)

R 4

Grotius,

(e) De Babylone dissident veteres et novi interpretes. Veteres Romam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse nemo verus Christianus dubitabit. Novi Babylonem in Chaldaea. Ego veteribus assentior. Nam quod Romam Babylonem vocavit, non in hoc tantum serviit, ut si deprehenderetur epistola, non posset inde sciri, quibus in locis viveret. Verum etiam. . . . Congruentias plurimas inter Babylonem et Romam vide Orofii ii. 2. 3. 4. *Grot. ad 1. Pet. v. 13.*

Grotius, and (f) Whitby, and (g) Valefius, and all the learned writers of the Roman communion in general.

These have, confessedly, in their favour, the testimonie of antiquity. Which is no small advantage.

Eusebius having given an account of St. Mark's Gospel, and of it's having been writ at the request of St. Peter's hearers at Rome, adds: "And (b) it is said, that Peter mentions this Mark in his first epistle, which, they say, he wrote at Rome: and that himself calls that city Babylon figuratively in those words: *the church that is* "at

(f) See him upon 1. Pet. v. 13.

(g) Romam Petrus figurate Babylonem vocavit, vel ob magnitudinem et potentiam, vel propter impietatem. . . . Potest etiam alia ratio hujus cognominis afferri, quod scilicet ut Babylonii Judaeos in servitutem redegerant, sic Romani tunc Judaeos ditioni suae subjecissent. Sunt qui in dicta Petri epistola Babylonis nomine non Romam, sed Babylonem ipsam, quae caput fuit Assyriorum, designari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum testimonio refelluntur. Valef. Annot. ad Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 15. p. 33.

(b) Τὸ δὲ μέγας μνημονεύειν τοῦ πέτρου ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ῥώμης· σημαίνειν τε τὸν αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον βαβυλῶνα, προσενέοντα διὰ τούτων· Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκληκτὴ, καὶ μέγας ὁ υἱὸς μου. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 15.

"at Babylon salutes you, as does Mark my son."

This interpretation some suppose *Eusebius* to ascribe to *Papias*. But (*i*) *Spanheim* denies it. And perhaps it is not certain. Whether *Papias* said so, or not, it was the prevailing opinion in the time of *Eusebius*.

Jerome in his book of *Illustrious Men*, in his article of *St. Mark*, transcribes the just cited passage of *Eusebius*, but expresseth himself more positively. "*Peter* (*k*) makes mention of this *Mark* in his first epistle, figuratively denoting *Rome* by the name of *Babylon*. *The church which is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, as does Mark my son.*"

Bede (*l*) by *Babylon* understood *Rome*,
as

(*i*) Atqui primus omnium *Eusebius* narrationi de Marco haec subjungit: *Esse, qui dicerent Romam figurate Babylonem appellari. . . .* Nec tamen *Papiae* ipsi adscribi eam interpretationem, quicquid vulgo sentiant, *Valesio* ipso verba haec a prioribus sejungente, supra demonstratum est. Vid. P. 3. num. xii. *Spanhem. Diss. de fide Profect. Petri ad Rom. Part. iv. num. ii. Tom. 2. p. 375.*

(*k*) Meminit hujus *Marci* et *Petrus* in epistola prima, sub nomine *Babylonis* figuraliter *Romam* significans: salutatur vos quae in *Babylone* est coelesta, et *Marcus* filius meus. *De V. I. cap. viii.*

(*l*) *Babylonem* typice *Romam* dicit, videlicet propter
con-

as did (m) *Oecumenius*. However, it may be here properly recollected, that (n) formerly we saw an author, *Cosmas* of *Alexandria*, in the sixth centurie, who hereby seems to have understood *Babylon* in *Assyria*.

This opinion concerning the place of writing this epistle is much confirmed by the general tradition of the ancients, that *St. Mark's* Gospel was writ at *Rome*, at the request of *Peter's* hearers, and that *Mark* here mentioned is the Evangelist. Nor is this contradicted by *Cosmas*, but confirmed by him. For he expressly says, "that (o) *Mark*, the second Evangelist, wrote his Gospel at *Rome* by the direction of *Peter*."

They (p) who reject this interpretation, affect

confusionem multiplicis idololatriæ. &c. *Bed. Expos. 1. Pet. v. 13.*

(m) Βαβυλῶνα δὲ τὴν ῥῶμην διὰ τὸ περιφανὲς καλεῖ, ὃ καὶ βαβυλὼν πολλῶ χρόνῳ ἔρχηκε. *Oecum. in loc. Tom. 2. p. 526. A.*

(n) See *Vol. xi. p. 275. and 283.*

(o) See *Vol. xi. p. 267. and the first volume of this Supplement. p. 178.*

(p) Quod si, ut *Rufinus* interpretatur, teste *Papia* nititur, infirmo sane tibicine fultum est. Nec temere ad tropum in nominibus urbium aut regionum est recurrendum, nisi ubi pro-

affect to slight *Papias* : whereas there is no good reason for it. If he said so, certainly his testimonie would be of some value. But we do not clearly perceive, that this was in *Papias*. However, it is said by *Eusebius*. It was then a common opinion. Nor did he know of a better.

Others insinuate likewise, that (q) the reason why *Jerome* was willing to confound *Rome* with *Babylon*, was, that he was out of humour with the people of *Rome*. Which seems to me to be groundless. *Jerome* only transcribes what he had found in *Eusebius*. They who reject the accounts of those two learned ancients should by all means produce some evidence, that *Peter* was in *Mesopotamia*. We have good assurance, that *St. Mark's* Gospel was writ at *Rome*, and that *Peter* preached, and suffered martyrdom there. His two epistles therefore, probably, were writ in the same city, a short time before the period of his life.

Mill

propria vocis significatio locum habere non potest. *Wetsten.*
N. T. Tom. 2. p. 697.

(q) C'est une imagination de *Papias*, que les anciens ont adopté avec trop de facilité, et que *S. Jerome* auroit rejetée avec mepris, si dans la mauvaise humeur ou il étoit contre *Rome*, il n'eût été bien aise de la confondre avec *Babylone*. *Beauf. Hist. Manich. l. 2. ch. 3. T. i. p. 181.*

Mill varies. In his note upon the place he is for *Babylon* in *Egypt*. But in his *Prolegomera* (r) he is for *Rome*, and argues well enough for that opinion. I suppose, that to be his final determination.

It may be best for me now to conclude this argument with a part of *Whitby's* note upon 1. Pet. v. 13. which is very agreeable also to the note of *Esluius* upon the same text. "That *Babylon* is figuratively here put for " *Rome*, is an opinion so early delivered by " *Papias*, and which afterwards so generally prevailed, (as we learn from *Eusebius*, " *Jerome*, and *Oecumenius*,) that I subscribe to the note at the end of this epistle, " ἐγγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, it was written from " *Rome*, stiled also *Babylon* by the author " of the Revelations. ch. xvii. and xviii. " For the Apostle, at the time of writing it, " must

(r) Romae eam scriptam fuisse, notant ex traditione Veterum Eusebius, Hieronymus in Catalogo, et alii permulti. Hanc enim Babylonis nomine designatam voluit Petrus, cum communi tum temporis apud Judaeos suos appellatione. Quae quidem et in hunc usque diem apud eos obtinet. Abarbanel, alique recentiores Judaei, commentantes in prophetias de Babylone, ad Romam istas referunt: quod sicut a Babyloniis olim in servitutem redacti fuerint, ita postea jam a Romanis, &c. *Proleg. num.* 59. 60.

" must be at *Rome*, figuratively, or at some
 " city, properly, called *Babylon*. Now as
 " it is uncertain, whether *St. Peter* ever
 " was at *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, or in *Egypt*,
 " and improbable, that he made any confi-
 " derable stay there: so it is very impro-
 " bable, he should do it, when near his end.
 " At *Rome*, and *Antioch*, where he confes-
 " sedly resided, church-historie is copious
 " in giving an account of his successors in
 " those Sees. But who can shew any thing
 " of this nature, with reference to either of
 " those *Babylons*? &c. &c."

IV. The only thing remaining to be ob- *Their Time.*
 served by us is the time of writing these two
 epistles. Which I think to be the year 63.
 or 64. or at the latest 65. I suppose, *Paul*
 to have left *Rome* in the spring of the year
 63. *St. Peter* was not then come thither.
 If he had been there, he would have been
 mentioned by *St. Paul* in some of his epistles,
 writ near the end of his imprisonment at
Rome. However, not very long after *St.*
Paul was gone, *St. Peter* might come thi-
 ther. Here, I suppose, he preached for a
 while freely, and with great successe. And
 it appears to me probable, that both these
 epistles

epistles were writ at Rome, not long before the Apostle's death.

That he was old, and near his end, when he wrote the second epistle, is apparent from Ch. i. 14. And that the first epistle to the same Christians had not been writ long before, may be argued from the apologie, which he makes for writing this second epistle to them. ch. i. ver. 13... 15. *Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth. Yea I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stirr you up by way of remembrance. Knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed me. Moreover, I will endeavor, that you may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance.*

It is not unlikely, that soon after the Apostle had sent away *Silvanus* with the first epistle, some came from those countreys to Rome, where was a frequent and general resort from all parts, bringing him informations concerning the state of religion among them. Which induced him to write a second time for the establishment of the Christians, among whom he had labored. And
he

he might well hope, that his last words, and dying testimonie to the doctrine, which he had received from Christ, and had taught for many years with unshaken stedfastnesse, would be of great weight with them.

V. I have now gone through the four inquiries, proposed at the begining of this article. I shall here add only a few remarks upon 1. Pet. v. 13. *The (s) church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you. And so does Mark, my son.*

*Remarks
upon 1. Pet.
v. 13.*

The word *church* is not in the original, but is inserted in the translation. The same word is supplid in (t) *Oecumenius*, and (u) in the Latin, and other ancient versions, with the approbation of (x) *Grotius*, and many others. But *Mill* (y) in his notes upon this

(1) Ασπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, καὶ μαρκὸς ὁ υἱὸς μου.

(t) Ασπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι ἐκκλησία συνεκλεκτή.

(u) Εκκλησία praefigunt Lin. [in margine. manu recentiori:] Oecumen. Vulg. Syr. Arab. Aethiop. ex interpretatione. *Mill. in loc.*

(x) Ad vocem συνεκλεκτή, et Syrus, et Arabs, et Latinus, addunt nomen ecclesiae, recte. Nam et ad ecclesiam scribit, et haec, et illa, pariter Deo electa, id est, a mundo segregata. *Grot. in loc.*

(y) Nempe pro indubitato sumitur, ecclesiam Babyloniorum

rum

this text, where he understands the word *Babylon* literally, of a city of that name in *Egypt*, argues, that thereby is intended St. *Peter's* wife, or some honorable Christian woman, of the city of *Babylon*, where he then was. Which conjecture is countenanced by (z) *Wall*.

Dr. *Heumann* proceeds farther. First, he says, that (a) by *Mark my son*, we are to

rum hic intelligi. Atqui vero, si de ecclesia hic sermo, quum nulla ejus mentio facta sit in praecedentibus, aperte dixisset Petrus ἐκκλησία ἐν βαβυλῶνι. . . . Mihi quidem vehemens suspicio est, per τὴν ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴν, intelligi hic Petri uxorem, fidei simul susceptae, vitae, laborum, sociam : quae Babylone Aegyptiacâ tunc, cum haec scriberentur, egerit. . . . Si dicas, illud ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι denotare potius feminam aliquam, quae fixam sedem habuerit in Babylone, nihil equidem repugno. Esto ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι sive uxor Petri, sive etiam opulenta quaedam ac illustri loco nata femina apud Babylonios, quae Apostolum hospitio exceperit : certe nihil hoc loco de ecclesia Babyloniorum. *Mill. in loc.*

(z) "The word *church* is not in the Greek, but put in by the translators, as understood in the Greek. . . . Dr. *Mill* thinks it to mean *Peter's* wife, who being now at *Babylon* with her Husband, did salute those Christians, to whom the epistle was written. And then the reading of the words will be: *She who is your fellow-Christian at Babylon saluteth you.*" *Wall. p. 357.*

(a) Similem errarunt errorem, qui quem *filium suum* hic loci nominavit Petrus, eum non naturalem ejus fuisse filium, sed spiritualem arbitrati sunt. . . . Maneat nunc, Petrum de filio

to understand *Peter's* own son, which he had by his wife. And (b) then by *electèd together with you*, is to be understood, an excellent Jewish woman of *Babylon* in *Assyria*, whom, with many others, *Peter* had there converted to the Christian faith, and afterwards married: his first wife, mentioned *Luke* iv. 38. by whom he had *Mark*, being dead.

But it appears to me very unlikely, that *St. Peter* should send salutations to the Christians of several countreys from a woman, not named by him. *Beza* says well, that (c) *St. Peter* omits the noun, *church*, as is often

filio sibi ex conjuge nato loqui: quem facile ex hoc ipso loco cognoscimus fuisse socium paternorum itinerum, et simul συνεργόν ἐν χριστῷ. *Heum. ubi supr. p. 110.*

(b) Relinquitur igitur, ut statuamus, loqui Apostolum de uxore sua, *Babylonè* nata, ac tum, cum ibi versaretur *Petrus*, una cum aliis utriusque sexus *Judæis* in ecclesiam Christi traducta. Hoc enim sibi volunt haec verba: ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή. . . . Quis nunc non videat, *Petrum* hanc νεόφυτον, singulari haud dubie pietate et prudentia conspicuam, duxisse in matrimonium, comitemque postea habuisse facrorum itinerum? Ex quo sequitur, priorem uxorem, cujus *Lucae* iv. 38. mentio, e quâ susceperat *Marcum*, fuisse extinctum. *Heum. ibid. p. 112. 113.*

(c) Ecclesiae nomen omittit, ut in vocabulis communi usu tritis fieri solet. *Bez.*

often done with regard to words of common use. What was the sense of Christians in former times, appears from *Oecumenius*, and the versions taken notice of above. The same sense appears in (*d*) the Complexions of *Cassiodorus*, and (*e*) the Exposition of *Bede*.

With regard to *St. Mark*, *Oecumenius* says, "that (*f*) *Peter* calls him *his son* according to the spirit, not according to the flesh. Him he permitted to write the Gospel. But some, as he adds, have presumed to call *Mark* son of *Peter* according to the flesh, arguing from *Luke's* historie, in the Acts of the Apostles : where *Peter*, having been delivered out of prison by an angel, is said to have come to the house of *Marie*, the mother of *John*, whose surname was *Mark*, as (*g*) if he had then gone to his own house, and his lawful wife."

That

(*d*) Salutationes quoque ecclesiae, quam de Babylonia, id est, de seculi istius confusione, dicit electam, et Marci filii sui pia institutione transmittens. *Cassiod. in loc.*

(*e*) *Expos. in 1. Petr. cap. v.*

(*f*) Μάρκον δὲ υἱὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα καλεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔκκατὰ σάρκα. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 526. A.*

(*g*) ... ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆ οικίαν ἐπαυελθόντα, καὶ τὴν νομίμην σύζυγον. *Ib. B.*

That is a wrong deduction from the words of Acts. xii. 12. But we hence perceive, that those people supposed *Mark*, the Evangelist, to have been the same as *John*, surnamed *Mark*.

And I would also farther observe here, by the way, "that (i) *Oecumenius* computes *Silvanus*, by whom *St. Peter* sent this epistle, and who is mentioned ch. v. 12. to be the same, who is several times mentioned by *St. Paul* in his epistles, particularly 1. Theff. i. 1. 2. Theff. ii. 1." Who likewise, very probably, is the same as *Silas*, often mentioned in the Acts.

Oecumenius there calls *Silvanus* a most faithful man, zealous for the progresse of the gospel. Indeed all must be sensible, that he was an excellent man, who from generous principles attended the Apostles of Christ in the journeys undertaken by them, in the service of the gospel. His deputation from

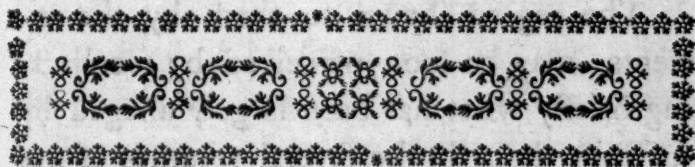
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the

(i) Πιστὸς ὑπερβαλλέντως ὁ σιλουανὸς οὗτος, καὶ περὶ τὸ κήρυγμα εὐθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἔγχε καὶ παῦλος αὐτῷ μνημονέει, καὶ συνεργὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ τιμοθέου ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς παραλαμβάνει. Παῦλος λέγων καὶ σιλουανὸς καὶ τιμόθεος. *Oecum. ib.* p. 525. D.

the Apostles, and Elders, and Church of *Jerusalem*, with their letter to the Christians at *Antioch*, is very honorable to him. Acts. xv. 27. 32. His stay there, and *Paul's* choosing him for his companion in his travels, when he and *Barnabas* separated, farther assure us of his just sentiments concerning the freedom of the Gentils from the yoke of the law, and of his zeal for promoting true religion.





C H A P. XX.

The three Epistles of St. John.

- I. *Their Genuinnesse shewn from Testimonie, and internal Characters.*
- II. *The Time of writing the first of these Epistles.*
- III. *The People, to whom it was sent.*
- IV. *Observations upon the second Epistle.*
- V. *upon the third.*
- VI. *The Time, when they were writ.*

I. I HAVE already writ the historie of St. John, one of Christ's twelve Apostles, and an Evangelist. I have also observed what is need-

Their Genuinnesse.

full concerning the Gospel, writ by him. We are now to consider his Epistles.

The regard shewn to them by the ancients, may be soon perceived by recollecting briefly what has been largely alleged by us from them in the several volumes of this work.

St. John's first epistle is referred to by *Poly carp*. Vol. i. p. 118. is quoted by *Papias*. 242. 250. 253. and is referred to by the Martyrs of *Lyons*. 340. His first and second epistles are quoted by *Irenaeus*. 375. They were also received by *Clement* of *Alexandria*. ii. 473. 509. 511. 512. And says *Origen*: "John, beside the Gospel, and Revelation, has left us an epistle of a few lines. Grant also a second, and a third. For all do not allow these to be genuine." Vol. iii. 236. *Dionysius*, of *Alexandria*, receives John's first epistle, which he calls his Catholic Epistle, ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. He likewise mentions the other two, as ascribed to him. Vol. iv. 672. . . . 674. The first epistle was received by *Cyprian*, and, probably, the other two likewise. p. 832. . . . 836. The second epistle is quoted by *Alexander*, Bp. of *Alexandria*. Vol. vii. 250. *Eusebius* says: "Beside his Gospel, his first epistle

epistle is universally acknowledged by those of the present time, and by the ancients: but the other two are contradicted:" that is, doubted of by some. Vol. viii. 95. See also p. 96. 97. and 157. 158. All the three epistles were received by *Athanasius*. p. 227. by *Cyril*, of *Jerusalem*. p. 270. by the Council of *Laodicea*. p. 292. by *Epiphanius*. p. 304. 310. All three were received by *Jerome*. Vol. x. 77. but the two last were doubted of by some in his time. p. 99. 100. All three were received by *Rufin*. p. 187. by the third Council of *Carthage*. p. 194. by *Augustin*. p. 211. 248. and by all those authors, who received the same canon of the New Testament, that we do. They are in the *Alexandrian* manuscript. Vol. xi. 240. All three are also in the catalogues of *Gregorie Nazianzen*. ix. 133. and of *Amphilobius*. p. 148. But this last observes, that some received one of them only. And indeed, it is acknowledged, that but one epistle of *St. John* is received by the *Syrian* churches. Vol. ix. 191. . . . 196. 217. Nor were any more received by *Chrysostom*. Vol. x. 313. 337. . . . 339. Venerable *Bede*, near the begining of the eighth centurie, in his Exposition of the second epistle, says:

" Some (*a*) have thought this, and the fol-
 " lowing epistle not to have been writ by
 " *John* the Apostle, but by another, a Pres-
 " byter of the same name, whose sepulchre
 " is still shewn at *Ephesus*, whom also *Pa-*
 " *pias* mentions in his writings. But now it
 " is the general consent of the Church, that
 " *John* the Apostle wrote also these two
 " epistles: forasmuch as there is a great a-
 " greement of doctrine and stile between
 " these and his first epistle, and there is al-
 " so a like zeal against heretics." They who
 are desirous to see more quotations of ancient
 writers, may consult the Table of principal
 matters, in the twelfth Volume, in *St. John*,
Catholic Epistles, and *Authors, who had the*
same canon of the N. T. with that, which is
now generally received. Which article may
 be found under *Canon of the scriptures of the*
N. T.

All

(*a*) Quidam putant, hanc et sequentem epistolam non esse
 Joannis Apostoli, sed cujusdam presbyteri Joannis, cujus se-
 pulchrum usque hodie monstratur in Epheso. Cujus etiam
 Papias, auditor Apostolorum, et in Hierapoli Episcopus, in
 opusculis suis saepe meminit. Sed nunc generalis Ecclesiae
 consensus habet, quod has quoque epistolas Joannes Aposto-
 lus scripserit, quia revera multam verborum et fidei simili-
 tudinem cum prima ejus epistola ostendunt, et simili zelo
 detestantur haereticos. *Bed. Exp. in 2. ep. Joan.*

All the three epistles are now generally received as *St. John's* in these parts of the world. And with good reason, as seems to me. Said *Origen*: "He has also left an epistle of a very few lines. Grant also a second, and a third." That is very right. One epistle was received by all, as certainly genuine. And it is not worth the while to contend about the other two, when they are so very short, and resemble the first in sentiment, phrase, and manner of writing, as is well observed by *(b) Mill*. And of the second epistle, which consists of only thirteen of our verses, eight may be found in the first, either in sense, or expression. The title of Elder at the beginning of these two epistles, affords no just exception. It *(c)* is

(b) Epistolas autem istas habere auctorem Joannem . . . ex eo plane constat, quod in istis omnibus eadem passim sint νοήματα, idem genus et character dictionis. Secundae, certe ὁλιγοσίσχες, (neque enim continet ultra tredecim versus ex hodiernis nostris,) octo quidem versiculorum cum sensus, tum ipsae ῥήσεις, exstant in epistola prima. . . . Epistola autem tertia, ejusdem omnino coloris ac characteris cum secunda, per omnia sapit Joannem Apostolum. *Mill. Proleg. num. 153.*

(c) Quod aliqui Joanni cuidam alteri, Presbytero vulgo dicto, adscriptas volunt has duas epistolas, ii neutiquam vident, quam fortiter contra illos militet illud ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατ'

is a very honorable character, well becoming *John*, as Apostle, and now in years, residing in *Asia*, as superintendent of all the churches in that countrey. And *St. Peter* speaks of himself in the same character, in his epistle universally acknowledged. ch. v. 1.

Dr. *Heuman* supposeth, that (*d*) here is a reference to *St. John's* great age, at the time of his writing these two epistles. And he thinks, that *St. John* was then as well known by that title, as by his name. *The Elder* therefore is as much, as if he had said: The aged Apostle. And he refers

to

κατ' ἐξοχὴν: quique privato homini, vel etiam Episcopo, haudquaquam conveniat. . . . Imo vero Apostolo nostro peculiariter adaptatum et accommodatum erat: utpote qui jam nonagenarius fuerit, omnibusque provinciae Asiae ecclesiis præsiderit. *Mill. Ibid. num. 153. 154. Vid. et Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap. 7. num. viii.*

(*d*) Deinde articulo ô docet Joannes, nomen hoc sibi cum nemine commune esse, adeoque viso τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ titulo statim scriptorem harum literarum agnovisse. . . . Nihil proinde restat, quam ut statuamus, a Joanne isto titulo indicari aetatem suam provectissimam, morisque tum fuisse, eum appellitari honoris ac reverentiae causa *Senem*, sive *Seniorem*, vel etiam *Senem Apostolum*. . . . Graeca proinde haec, Ὁ Πρεσβύτερος Καίω, melius reddi Latine non possunt, quam hoc modo: Grandaeus Apostolus salutem dicit Caio. . . . *Heuman. Comm. in Joan. Ep. iii. ap. Nov. Syllog. Diss. P. i. p. 279. 280.*

to *Wolffius*, and others, who had before said the same, or what is to the like purpose.

The want of a name at the begining is no objection. It is rather an argument, that they are his: that being agreeable to *St. John*, who prefixes not his name, to that epistle, which is unquestionably his.

And say *Beaufobre* and *Lenfant* in their preface to the second and third epistles: "It is certain, that the writer of the third epistle speaks with an authority, which the Bishop of a particular church could not pretend to, and could not suit *John* the elder, even supposing him to have been Bishop of the church of *Ephesus*, as the pretended Apostolical Constitutions say he was appointed by *John* the Apostle. For if *Diotrephes* was Bishop of one of the churches of *Asia*, as is reckoned, the Bishop of *Ephesus* had no right to say to him, as the writer of this epistle does ver. 10. *If I come, I will remember his deeds which he does.* That language, and the visits made to the churches, denote a man, who had a more general jurisdiction, than that of a Bishop, and can only suit *St. John* the Apostle."

II. That

*The Time
of writing
the first
Epistle.*

II. That may suffice for shewing the genuinnesse of the three epistles. Let us now make some remarks upon each of them, begining with the first. Concerning which there are two inquiries, that may be proper: the time when, and the persons to whom it was writ.

Grotius thought this (e) epistle to have been writ in *Patmos*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Hammond* and *Whitby* likewise were of opinion, that it was writ, before that great calamity befell the Jewish nation. Dr. *Benson* (f) is inclined to place it in the year of our Lord 68. of *Nero* 14. that is, after the Jewish war was broke out, and not long before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Mill* (g), and *Le Clerc* (h) who follows him, place this epistle in the year 91. or 92. *Basnage* (i) speaks of this epistle at the year 98. and *Baronius* (k) at the

(e) Puto autem scriptam, ut alibi dixi, ex Patmo hanc epistolam, non multo ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. Grot. Pr. in 1. ep. Joan.

(f) Preface to St. John's first epistle. §. iv.

(g) Proleg. num. 148. . . . 150.

(h) H. E. an. 91. num. i.

(i) Ann. 98. num. iv.

(k) Ann. 99. num. vii. . . . x.

the year 99. *Beaufobre* and *Lenfant* in their preface to this epistle express themselves after this manner: "Although we cannot say
 "any thing certain concerning the time,
 "when *St. John* wrote this epistle: we
 "may be satisfied, that it was near the end
 "of the first centurie, when the Apostle
 "was far advanced in age." *Du Pin* (l) says, it is not known, when it was writ, but most probably, near the end of the Apostle's life. *Mr. Whiston* (m) thought, this, and the other two epistles of *St. John*, to have been written not long after each other, about the year of Christ, 82. or 83. *Mr. Lampe* (n) supposeth this first epistle to have been writ after the Jewish war, before *St. John's* exile in *Patmos*, and, probably, some good while before it. Consequently, he and *Mr. Whiston* do not differ greatly about the time of this epistle.

I must

(l) *Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. §. xi.*

(m) *Commentarie upon St. John's three Catholic Epistles.*
 p. 14.

(n) *Acquiescimus igitur hactenus in judicio clarissimi En-
 fii de Canone N. T. p. 270. Scriptae tamen creduntur Jo-
 annis epistolae ante exilium in Patmum insulam. Neque est
 ratio, ob quam non statueremus, eas diu ante illud tempus
 fuisse conscriptas. Lampe Proh. cap. 7. num. iv. not. (b).*

I must likewise say, though the exact time is not known, I am of opinion, it was not writ, till after the Jewish war was over. My reason is, that the arguments alleged, for proving it to have been writ sooner, are not satisfactorie. And in examining them, perhaps, some things may occur, affording hints of a later date.

One argument is taken from ch. ii. 18. *it is the last time*, or hour : meaning, as (o) some interpreters think, the last hour of the Jewish state and constitution. Nevertheless, there (p) are learned men, who do not assent to that interpretation. *Grotius* himself owns, that (q) the phrase is sometimes used concerning the world, or mankind in general, as well as the Jews. And Mr. *Lampe*, who supposeth the phrase to relate to the divine

(o) *Ultima hora* : id est, ultimum tempus, ubi ad Judaeos sermo est, significat tempus, proximum excidio urbis, ac templi, et reipublicae Judaeorum. *Grot. annot. in 1. ep. Jo. ii. 18.*

(p) *Vid. Wolff. Prolegom. in 1. ep. Joann. p. 243. 244. Conf. eund. ad 1. ep. cap. ii. ver. 18.*

(q) *Nomen horae extremae* modo totum humanum genus respicit, modo populum Judaicum, ex quo erant Apostoli, et non pauci Christianorum. *Grot. in loca quaedam N. T. de Antichristo : speciatim in 1. ep. Jo. cap. ii. Opp. Tom. 3.*

divine judgement upon the Jewish People, says, it (*r*) might be used not only at the time when it was inflicting, but also after it was accomplished. Which he supposes to be meant by those expressions. ch. ii. 8. *the darknesse is past, and the true light now shineth*: [though (*s*) *Wolfius* thinks no such thing there intended.] And therefore, he says, he (*t*) does not acquiesce in the reasons alleged by *Grotius*, and *Hammond*, to prove, that this epistle was writ before that event.

Let

(*r*) Alii maturius, aut brevi ante, aut saltem circa excidium Hierosolymitanum scriptum esse existimant, qui nobis maxime ad verisimilitudinem accedere videntur. Probabile enim est, per ἐσχάτην ὥραν intelligi tempus judicii divini in Judaeos. cap. ii. 18. ejusque consummationem spectare verba cap. ii. 8. *Lampe Prol. l. 1. c. 7. n. iv. p. 106.*

(*s*) — sed non video, quomodo imminens illud judicium argumentum esse possit, quo Apostolus ad inculcandum et urgendum amorem mutuū atque voluerit. Tenebrae omnino inferunt pristinam et Judaeorum et Gentilium conditionem, per quam non solum erroribus, sed et vitiis ita erant immersi, ut οὐδὲ σκότους appellari potuerint. *Wolf. Curae in 1. Jo. ii. 8.*

(*t*) *Grotius* et *Hammondus* ante excidium Hierosolymitanum scriptam esse suspicantur. Quod tamen loca adducta non evincunt. Licet enim excidium illud in actum datum esset, dici tamen etiamnum poterat, quod hora illa ultima venerit. *Id. ib. not. (b).*

Let me add here also a part of *Wall's* note upon ch. ii. 18. which to me appears not amiss. "The saying of St. *John*, it is *the last time*, is spoken as a great many such sayings of St. *Paul*, and the other Apostles, had been, according to the general charge, given by Christ to the Apostles, and to all other Christians, to live in a continual expectation of the judgement. They that interpret it otherwise, of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as *Grotius*, and *Hammond*, are forced to suppose this epistle to have been written just before that destruction, about the year 69. . . . Nor are St. *John's* words here like those of any one, that was foretelling that event: but rather of one that was speaking of the present state of the Christian religion."

Again, it is argued, that (u) the Apostle might refer to the calamities of the Jewish People in those words ch. ii. 17. *The world passeth away, and the lust thereof*. But those are only general expressions, representing the uncertainty of all earthly things. And therefore

(u) Unde etiam per mundum transeuntem cum suis cupiditatibus ad idem excidium Reipublicae Judaicae respicere Evangelista potuit. *Lampe ib. p. 106.*

therefore afford not any argument, that the Apostle had therein a regard to affairs in *Ju-
dea*. For, if he had, his expressions would have been more distinct, and particular.

Thirdly, an argument is also brought from ch. ii. 13. *I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning*. Whereby St. John has been supposed by some to intend some aged Christians, who had seen Jesus Christ upon earth. Which is more likely to have been the case of some in the year 68. about thirty five years after Christ's ascension, than many years afterwards. To which I answer, that (x) by *him that is from the beginning*, probably, is intended God the Father, not Jesus Christ. It is equivalent to what is afterwards said to others, in the same verse. *I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father*. But it would not sound so well, to say: *I have written unto you, fathers, because ye have known the Father*. See also ver 14.

Fourthly,

(x) *Nostis Deum, qui Senex Dierum*. Dan. vii. 9. 13. 22. Dat cuique ordini quae ipsi conveniunt. A prima aetate novistis Deum, hujus mundi opificem. Is autem is est, qui Christum misit, eumque pro se audiri voluit. Grot. ad ver. 13.

Fourthly, it is (y) argued to the like purpose from ch. ii. 7. *I write no new commandment to you, but an old commandment, which ye had from the begining.* But thereby may be meant no more than the commandment, which ye had from the begining of your being Christians: or from the time, when you were first converted to the Christian Religion, whenever it was. And, as (z) *Wolfius* observes, none of those to whom St. *John* wrote, in any part of his life, were very far distant, in point of time, from the first preaching of the gospel.

Since therefore there are no expressions in the epistle, declaring the time of it, or clearly referring to the calamities attending the downfall of the Jewish State; it appears to me

(y) Accedit, quod ad fratres scribat, qui praeceptum a principio audiverant. cap. ii. 7. Per quod intelligi debet principium praedicationis evangelicae. A quo igitur non nimium removeri debent illi, quos Apostolus alloquitur. *Lampe ubi supra. p. 106.*

(z) Quod ad alteram rationem attinet, nullus eorum, qui Joannis aetate ad Christi cognitionem adducti sunt, ab originibus evangelii nimium removebitur, five illi ante, five post excidium Hierosolymitanum eo pervenerint. Omnes enim sub originibus ejus eam adepti censerī debent, quippe quibus Joannes, ut ἀρχαίως earum, testis et praeco, adfuerit. *Wolf. ubi supr. p. 244.*

me probable, that it was not writ till a good while after that event, about the year of Christ 80. or later.

III. We are next to consider, to whom *To whom it was sent.* this epistle was sent.

And here I observe: As the writer does not at the begining prefix his name, nor any where else mention it in the epistle: so neither does he describe, or characterize the persons to whom he writes by the name of their city, or countrey, or any such thing.

The first expression of addresse is that in ch. ii. 1. *My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not.* And the epistle concludes with these words: *Little children, keep yourselves from idols.* And he several times calls the Christians, to whom he writes, *little children*, as ch. ii. 12, 18. iii. 7. 18. iv. 4. v. 21. Our Lord spoke to the disciples in a like manner. John xiii. 33. and xxi. 5. It is a tender and affectionate appellation, denoting paternal authority, love, and concern. As an Apostle, it might be used by St. *John* in any part of life. Nevertheless it seems to imply, together with apostolical authority, advanced age.

Some have thought, that this epistle was writ to *Parthians*, or Jewish believers in that countrey. We have seen several ancient Latin authors, who speak of it, as inscribed to *Parthians*. So (a) *Augustin*, (b) *Cassiodorus*, and (c) *Bede*. I have already spoken of this, and have referred to divers learned moderns (d) whose opinions deserve to be taken notice of. I shall now add Mr. *Whiston*'s thoughts relating to this point, taken from his *Commentarie* upon St. *John*'s Epistles, published in 1719. "None of these three epistles of St. *John*, says he p. 5. 6. were written to the *Parthians*, as some later Latin writers have supposed: but rather to the Christians or churches of *Asia*, near *Ephesus*." "This he argues from the perfect silence of all true antiquity, as to St. *John*'s ever preaching in *Parthia*: and from the account, which we have in *Eusebius* from *Origen*, that *Parthia* was St. *Thomas*'s province, and *Asia* St. *John*'s: as also from the account " in

(a) *Vol. x. p. 248.*

(b) *Vol. xi. p. 308.*

(c) *The same. p. 388.*

(d) *See Vol. x. p. 249.*

" in the Recognitions. ix. 29. that *Thomas*
 " really preached the gospel in *Parthia*,
 " without a syllable of *St. John* thereto re-
 " lating. All which, says he, makes it
 " plain, that this pretended direction, of
 " any of *St. John's* epistles to the *Parthians*,
 " stands upon no good authority at all. And
 " it is not improbable, that the occasion of
 " this error was barely a false reading in
 " some ancient manuscript, where *πρὸς παρ-*
 " *θους* was read for *πρὸς παρθένας*: to the
 " *Parthians*, for to the *Virgins*. Which
 " latter inscription might easily be applied to
 " the first epistle. For as it is chiefly ad-
 " dressed to young Christians, yet uncor-
 " rupted, both as to fleshly and spiritual
 " fornication, such as in *St. John's* Revela-
 " tions are called *παρθένας* *virgins*: so was
 " the second epistle anciently affirmed by
 " some to be written, to the *Virgins*: as
 " we learn from *Clement of Alexandria*, in
 " *Cassiodorius*:" that is, from *Clement's* A-
 " dumbrations upon the Catholic Epistles,
 " translated by order (e) of *Cassiodorius*. For

T 3

there

(e) See in this work ch. 22. Vol. ii. p. 511....

there (*f*) the second epistle of St. John is said to be writ to virgins.

And before, at p. 4. of the same Commentarie, Mr. *Whiston* observes : " St. John " says nothing in his first epistle, by which " we can directly gather, to whom it was " sent : though it seems most probably to " belong to his own *Asiatic* churches."

As I have quoted *Clement*, I must not omit the observation of *Lenfant* and *Beausobre* : " *Clement* (*g*) says, that the second " epistle of St. John was directed to virgins, " undoubtedly intending by the means of " this Lady. But there is nothing in the " epistle, which suits virgins, more than " other Christians."

Mr. *Lampe* says : " This (*b*) first epistle is writ to believers, as is abundantly manifest

(*f*) Secunda Joannis epistola, quae ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine. *Adumbr. in ep. 2. Joan.*

(*g*) *As before.* p. 584.

(*b*) Ad fideles eum scripsisse, abunde patet ex scopo epistolae, cap. i. 4. totoque ejus argumento. Facile etiam admittimus, speciatim fideles ex Hebraeis innui. Universis tamen credentibus sui temporis Joannem hanc epistolam destinasse putamus, quia nulla restrictionis occurrit mentio. *Lamp. ibid. num. iii. 105.*

fest from the whole scope of the epistle. We also, says he, easily admit, that Jewish believers are especially regarded. Nevertheless we think, that St. *John* directed it to all believers of his time in general: forasmuch as there appears not in it any expression of limitation."

Du Pin says: " Though (1) there is no inscription, it appears from the begining of the second chapter, that it is addressed to many Christians. And there is no proof, that it is sent to Jews, rather than to Gentils."

On the other hand Dr. *Benson* (m) thinks, " that the Apostle wrote this epistle to the Jewish Christians in *Judea* and *Galilee*."

But the former opinion appears to me more probable. For 1. It is always called a catholic epistle. So it was called by *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, as before seen, as well as by later writers. 2. It really appears to be so. For there are not in it any expressions of limitation. 3. There could be very

T 4
little

(1) *Disserta. sur la Bible*. l. 2. ch. 2. §. xi.

(m) See his preface to St. *John's* first epistle. sect. iv.

little occasion for that admonition to believers in *Judea*, in the year 68. after the war was broke out, which is in ch. ii. 15. *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world.* That admonition is rather suited to people, who are supposed to be in easie circumstances, and are in danger of being ensnared by the allurements of prosperity. 4. Nor has the concluding exhortation of the epistle, *keep yourselves from idols*, any special suitableness to believers in *Judea*: but is much more likely to be directed to Christians living in other parts of the world.

Oecumenius in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle says, it (*n*) was writ to the whole Church in general. And in the proëm to his Commentarie upon the second epistle he (*o*) calls the first a catholic epistle. And he says, “ that (*p*) epistle is not

(*n*) ... φαιμένον, ὡς ἐπειδὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅλη ταῦτα ἔγραψεν.
κ. λ. *Oecum.* T. 2. p. 602. B.

(*o*) *Ib.* p. 605. B.

(*p*) ... Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀρισμένον ἔγραφε πρόσωπον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν τόπων τινῶν, ὥσπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ μακάριος πῆτρος ἀφορισμένως πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ ἐπισημαινόμενος ἰσδαίοις γράφειν· καὶ πρὸ τούτου ὁ θεὸς ἰάκωβος ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς... ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πιστοῖς κοινὸν ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ἐκκλησιάζει καὶ μὴ ἐκκλησιάζει, τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς παρέλιπε λόγον. *Id.* p. 606. B. 607. A.

not writ to a certain person, nor to the churches of one or more places, as the blessed *Peter's* to the Jews in their dispersion, nor as *James's* before him, to the twelve tribes of the Jewish People. But he writes to all the faithful in general, whether assembled together, or not. For which reason there is no inscription to that epistle, as there is to the other two."

To me therefore it seems, that this epistle was designed for the churches in *Asia* under *St. John's* inspection, and for all other Christians, into whose hands it should come. Or in other words, it was designed for all Christians in general, especially those under the Apostle's inspection, and nearest to him: without excepting the believers in *Judea*, or in any other countrey whatever.

Nor am I aware of any thing in the epistle, that should lead us to think, Jewish believers, in particular, to be intended, except what is in ch. ii. 2. where by *our* some have understood Jewish Christians, and by *the whole world* Gentils. But the coherence does not require that interpretation. In the preceding verse is first mentioned that general addresse, *my little children*, which occurs

curs several times afterwards. He there says: *These things write I unto you, that ye sin not.* Having delivered that earnest exhortation, for avoiding all offensive harshness, he soon afterwards joyns himself with those, to whom he writes, adding: *And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only,* “that is, mine, and yours, to whom I am now writing, who already believe in Jesus, and have done so for a good while: *but also for the sins of the whole world:* that is, of all men, of every nation and people, rank and condition, in every part and age of the world, who shall believe and repent.” Here is nothing to limit what the Apostle says to Jewish Christians. And that this Apostle does frequently joyn himself with those, to whom he writes, with a like view to that above mentioned, must be evident to all, who read this epistle with attention. See ch. i. 6. . . . 10. ii. 3. iii. 14. 18. . . . 22.

However for the sake of such as are really inquisitive, I shall here subjoyn the note of *Oecumenius* upon those words: *not for*

for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. " This (q) he said, either because
 " he wrote to Jews, and intended to shew,
 " that the benefit of repentance was not re-
 " strained to them, but extended to Gentils
 " also : or else, that the promise was not
 " made to the men of that time only, but
 " likewise to all in future times."

IV. St. John's second epistle is thus in-
 scribed : *The Elder to the elect Lady, and*
her children. Which has been differently
 understood by ancients and moderns : whose
 opinions may be seen in (r) *Wolffius*, and in
 Dr. *Benson's* preface to the second and third
 epistles of St. John, and briefly in *Beza*,
 whom (s) I transcribe below.

*Observa-
 tions upon
 the second
 Epistle.*

Some

(q) Τὸ τοῦ δὲ ἔπεν, ἥτοι ὅτι πρὸς ἰουδαίους ἔγραψε, καὶ ἵνα μὴ
 μόνοις ἐκείνοις περικλείσῃ τὰ τῆς μετανόιας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ
 ἔθνη ἐξαπλώσῃ ταύτην· ἢ ὅτι μὴ τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνο καιρὸν ἢ
 ἐπαγγελία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πᾶσι. *Oecum. in*
1. ep. Joan. p. 565.

(r) *Wolf. Prolegom. in ep. Joann. ii. p. 320. . . . 326.*

(s) *Electae Dominae.* Nonnulli *Electae* nomen proprium
 esse volunt. Quod non probo. Dicendum enim esset κυρία
 ἐκλεκτῆς, *Dominae Electae.* Alii hoc nomine volunt Ecclesiam
 Christianam in genere significari. Quibus repugnat primum,
 quod

Some have hereby understood the Christian Church in general. So (t) *Jerome*. But that, as *Beza* well observes in the place just transcribed, is a way of speaking, of which no like instance can be found. And it is inconsistent with what is said in the conclusion of the epistle, where the writer speaks of coming to see her, and sends her the salutations of the children of her elect sister.

Cassiodorus

quod hoc dicendi genus sit prorsus inusitatum. Deinde, quod in extremis duobus versibus diserte pollicetur, se ad eam et filios ipsius venturum, additque filiorum sororis salutem, quam et ipsam *electam* vocat. Puto igitur inscriptam esse epistolam praestanti alicui feminae, quarum nonnullae ecclesias suis opibus passim sustentabant: et *electam* illam vocari, id est, *eximiam*, addita Dominae appellatione... sicut Lucas Theophilum, et Paulus Festum *κράτιστον*; id est, *potentissimum*, vel *praestantissimum*, compellant. Neque enim ab ejusmodi honestis titulis Christiana Religio abhorret, quatenus quidem justum ac fas est. Perinde est igitur, acsi scriptum esset: Eximiae ac praestanti dignitate Dominae. At enim cur nomen proprium non addidit? Nempe satis inter se noti ac familiares erant. Quamobrem etiam ne nomen quidem suum exprimendum putavit. *Bez. in Joann. ep. secund.*

(t) Legimus in Carminum libro. . . . Una est columba mea. . . . Ad quam scribit idem Joannes epistolam: Senior *electae* dominae, et filiis ejus . . . *Ad Ageruch. ep. 91. al. 11. T. 4. p. 745.*

Cassiodorus here (*u*) understood a particular church.

Mr. *Whiston* (*x*) says: "St. *John's* second epistle was not writ to a particular Lady, but to a particular church: and, not improbably, to the church of *Philadelphia*." Which last I take to be said without any good foundation.

Oecumenius, in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle, says: "Hence (*y*) some argue, that the epistle was sent not to a woman, but to a church. About which, he says, he does not choose to dispute." But in his introduction, or comment upon the begining of the epistle, he says, "St. (*z*) *John* did not scruple to write to a faithful woman: forasmuch as in *Christ Jesus* there is neither male, nor female." And before

(*u*) Joannes senior, quoniam aetate provectus, ecclesiae dominae scribit ecclesiae, filiisque ejus, quos sacro fonte genuerat. *Cassiod. in ep. Jo. ii.*

(*x*) As before. p. 12.

(*y*) Διὰ δὲ τῆ προσθήναι, ἀσπαζέται σε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, βέλονται τινες βεβαίῳ, ὡς ἔπρος γυναῖκα ἢ ἐπισολῇ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν· περὶ ἧς ἐδὲν τῷ βελομένῳ διενεχθεῖν. *Oec. T. 2. p. 612.*

(*z*) Πρὸς δὲ γυναῖκα γράφων πιστὴν ἐδὲν ὑπεείλατο, ὅτι ἐν χριστῷ ἡσὺ ἀρρεὺν ἐδὲ θήλυ οἶδε. *Ib. p. 606. C.*

fore he speaks (a) of this epistle being writ to a particular woman.

In the Adumbrations of *Clement of Alexandria*, as we now have them in Latin, this (b) epistle is said to be writ to a *Babylonian* woman, or virgin, named *Electa*.

And of late many learned men, whose (c) arguments I place below, choose to read this inscription thus: *To the Lady Electa*, or *Eclecta*. But in my opinion the conclusion

(a) ... καθότι ἡ πρεσβύτερον ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταύταις γράφει, καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκα, καὶ ἕτερον γαίον, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μίαν. *Id. p. 605. B.*

(b) Secunda Joannis epistola, quae ad virgines scripta est simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine. Significat autem electionem ecclesiae sanctae. *Clem. A. ed. Potter. p. 1011.*

(c) Epistola secunda scripta est ad quandam Babyloniam, Electam nomine, ut legas in Adumbrationibus ad hanc epistolam, quae feruntur sub nomine Clementis Alexandrini. Nomen enim proprium feminae esse Electam, recte observant viri doctissimi, perinde ut ἐκλεκτός viri nomen est apud Herodianum. Eandem Joannes κυρία vocat, quemadmodum Latini feminas honestas vocabant dominas, sive dominas. Et Nazianzenus ep. iv. Κυρία τῇ μητρί. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 5. Tom. 3. p. 343.*

Εκλεκτὴ quoque littera majuscula scribitur apud Wehelium, et in editione R. Stephani, quam secutus est Millius, quamvis ipse eo nomine Christianam feminam indicari existimet. *Wolf. in 2. ep. Jo. p. 323.*

Electus cubicularius fuit Imp. Commodi genere Aegyptius. &c. *Wetsten ad Joan. ep. 2. p. 729.*

clusion affords an objection. For it is not very likely, that two sisters should both have one and the same name. So it may be sometimes : but very seldom, as I imagine. This was a difficulty with (d) *Wolfius*, and (e) *Tillemont*.

Dr *Heumann* supposeth, that (f) this woman's name was *Kuria*, or *Kyria*, and renders the inscription after this manner : *To the elect Kyria*. Which opinion is embraced by (g) Dr. *Benson*. But (h) *Wolfius* is not quite satisfied with it.

Tillemont

(d) *Electam* proprii nominis vocabulo vix habuerim, per comma 13. ubi matronae hujus soror itidem ἐκλεκτὴ appellatur. Quod ut illius aetatis moribus non respondet, ita soror illa ἐκλεκτὴ, tanquam Christiana commode vocari poterat. *Wolf. ib. p. 325.*

(e) Et on trouve de la difficulté à croire qu' ἐκλεκτὴ en soit un, [nom propre] parcequ' S. Jean. ver. 13. le donne aussi, à la sœur de cette dame, n'étant pas ordinaire que deux sœurs aient le même nom : et parceq' il auroit dû estre devant κυρία plutôt qu' après. S. Jean l'Evangélisse. note xiv. *Mem. T. i.*

(f) *Heuman. Poet. T. 2. p. 421. . . . 427. et T. 3. p. 14. &c.*

(g) See his *Preface to the second and third epistles of St. John. sect. iv.*

(h) *Posterius hoc argumentum me etiam adducit, ut nec Cyriae*

Tillemont has observed, that (i) in the Synopsis of Athanasius κυρία seems to be taken for a proper name. But that is not clear. The expression is ambiguous, and may be as well rendred: *the (k) Elder writes to a Lady, and her children*, as to Kyria, and her children. So (l) likewise thought Wolfius.

Before I proceed, I must detain the reader, whilst I observe, that the article of the Synopsis, quoted by Tillemont, is exactly the same with the Hypothesis, or Argument, prefixed to St. John's second epistle in (m) the second tome of Oecumenius. However, I do not suppose it to be really

Oecu-

Cyriae nomen proprium heic agnoscam. Ita enim Apostolus scripturus erat: Κυρία τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ, quemadmodum ver. 1. epistolae tertiae: Γαίῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ. Simili scribendi ratione utitur Paulus. Rom. xvi. 5. Ασπάζεσθε ἐπ' αὐνετον τὸν ἀγαπητὸν μου. Vid. etiam ib. ver. 8. et 12. et 13. Wolf. ib. p. 325.

(i) Neanmoins Saint Athanase met γράφει κυρία, ἢ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. par où il paroît avoir pris le mot de κυρία pour un nom propre. Mem. Ec. T. i. S. Jean l'Evangeliste. note xiv.

(k) Τάυτην ὡς πρεσβύτερος γράφει κυρία, ἢ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. Athan. Synopf. S. S. T. 2. p. 190. ed. Bened.

(l) Mihi quidem id ex phrasi ista non admodum liquet. Wolf. ib. p. 323.

(m) Oecum. T. 2. p. 603.

Oecumenius's. I allow it to be a part of the Synopsis, generally thought to have been composed by *Athanasius*, Bp. of *Alexandria* in the fifth centurie, as (*p*) formerly shewn.

Oecumenius himself seems to me to have supposed, this epistle to have been sent (*q*) to a Christian woman, whose name is not known. However in one place, in his prologue, he has these expressions: "He (*r*) calls her *elect*, either from her name, or on account of the excellence of her virtue."

Finally, then, others understand this inscription agreeably to our own translation: *The Elder to the elect Lady, and her children*. This (*s*) has hitherto been the common opinion,

(*p*) See *ch. lxxv. num. x. Vol. 8. p. 240. . . . 242.*

(*q*) Δύο δὲ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ. κ. λ. *Oecum.* Tom. 2. p. 606. *D.*

(*r*) Ἐκλεκτὴν δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀνόματος, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοτιμίας, καλεῖ. *Ib. p. 606. B.*

(*s*) Alii utramque vocem pro appellativa habent, matronaeque nomen simili silentio tectum censent, quo suum Johannes ipse textit. Hæc communior fere est sententia: *Wolf; ib. p. 324.*

opinion, and is favored by (t) Beza, (u) Mill, (x) Wall, (y) Wolfius, (z) Le Clerc, and others. And Tillemont in the place before referred to says: "The second epistle of St. John is inscribed to ἐκλεκτῇ κυρία. St. Jerome translates the word κυρία by *Dominae*, *Lady*. And it is difficult to translate otherwise in the fifth verse, where St. John repeats the same word."

It is not easie for me to decide in such a variety of opinions, each one of which is supported by great patrons. The arguments for a proper name, either of *Eclēta*, or *Kyria*, are plausible, and specious. But it is an objection of some moment, that this notion was little, if at all known to the ancients. If it had, they would not have supposed, that St. John here writes to the Church of Christ in general, or to some Christian church in particular. The Latin

Adum-

(t) See before note (s) p. 283.

(u) Prolegom. num. 151.

(x) Critical Notes upon the N. T. p. 378.

(y) Ubi supra. p. 326.

(z) Quoique ce mot puisse être un nom propre . . . il est assez vraisemblable, que c'est ici un nom appellatif, qui signifie, que c'étoit une Dame Chrétienne, à qui S. Jean écrivoit, et qui étoit connue à ceux qui lui devoient rendre cette lettre. &c. *Le Clerc Remarques sur la 2. ep. de S. Jean.*

Adumbrations of *Clement of Alexandria*, as they are called, are not very material. The passage of the Synopsis, quoted by *Tillemont*, is ambiguous. *Oecumenius* has just mentioned the opinion, that *Electa* might be the name of the person, to whom *St. John* wrote. But he does not seem to adhere to it, as has been observed by (a) *Estius*. Nor is there any notice taken of this interpretation by *Jerome*, or *Cassiodorus*, or *Bede*, authors, in which it would be very likely to be found, if it had been known in ancient times. And why it should not have been known, if there is any foundation for it, would not be easily shewn. That *Jerome* did not take *κυρια* to be a proper name, appears not only from the Latin version of this epistle, but likewise from his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew names : where,

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as

(a) *Electae*. Non liquet, an hoc sit nomen proprium mulieris, ad quam scribitur epistola, an commune. Id quod potius existimandum videtur : quoniam in fine epistolae etiam soror ejus vocatur *electa*. Non solent autem in eadem familia duae proles, esse cognomines. Possè sumi tanquam commune, *Oecumenius* sua expositione ostendit, et recte. . . . Videtur fuisse mulier nobilis sive genere, sive opibus. . . . Alioqui poterat vocare filiam. . . . Sed moris est apud bene moratas gentes, infirmiore sexum titulis et aliis decentibus modis honorare. *Est. in Joann. ep. ii. ver. 1.*

as formerly (*b*) observed, there are no proper names collected out of the second epistle of St. *John*, though there are out of his other two epistles, and indeed from all the seven Catholic Epistles, excepting only this one of St. *John's* second epistle.

Upon the
third.

V. The third epistle of St. *John* is thus inscribed: *The Elder to the beloved Gaius*. There (*c*) seem to be two of this name mentioned in the Acts, and St. *Paul's* epistles. In the disturbance at *Ephesus*, it is said: *Having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre*. Acts. xix. 29. And among the same Apostles fellow-travellers, who accompanied him in

(*b*) See Vol. x. p. 78.

(*c*) Gaius quidam inter comites ejus nominatur in tumultu Ephesino. Act. xix. 29. qui Derbaeus videtur dici Act. xx. 4. Habebat etiam Corinthi hospitem Gaium. Rom. xvi. 23. quem ipse baptizaverat. 1. Cor. i. 14. An hi sint iidem inter se aut cum Gaio Joannis, quis dispiciet? Beda, Pseudo-Dexter, Lyranus, aliique, affirmant. . . Id quoque novum procreare dubium potest, quod Gaius Paulinus Corinthi sedem ac domicilium habuerit, noster vero proculdubio in Asia habitaverit, brevi ab Apostolo visitandus, de cujus extra Asiam post excessum Neronis itineribus tota antiquitas fileat. *Lampe Proleg. in Joan. l. 1. cap. 7. num. xii.*

in his journey toward *Jerusalem*, is mentioned *Gaius of Derbe*. xx. 4. There is another *Gaius*, who appears to have been an inhabitant of *Corinth*. 1. Cor. i. 14. Rom. xvi. 23. I see no reason to think, that *Gaius*, or *Caius*, to whom *St. John* writes, was one of them. He seems to have been an eminent Christian, who lived in some city of *Asia*, not far from *Ephesus*, where *St. John* chiefly resided, after his leaving *Judea*. For at ver. 14. the Apostle speaks of *shortly coming to him*. Which he could not well do, if *Caius* lived at *Corinth*, or any other remote place. *Grotius* thought him to be a good Christian, who (*d*) lived in one of the churches, or cities mentioned in the Revelation.

Mr. *Whiston* (*e*) supposes, *Caius* to have been Bishop of *Pergamus*. *Mill* (*f*) was inclined to be of the same opinion. But this

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is

(*d*) Vixit hic Caius in aliqua ecclesiarum, quarum mentio in Apocalypsi. *Grot. in 3. ep. Joan. ver. 1.*

(*e*) *Commentarie upon St. John's Epistles. p. 14. 15. 86.*

(*f*) Alteram vero illam ad Gaium, ecclesiae Pergamenae Episcopum, ab ipso Joanne (si quid Apostolicarum Constitutionum auctori credimus,) ordinatum. *Mill. Prol. num. 152.*

is said only upon the ground of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, which in this case are of no authority at all.

Dr. *Heumann* (g) in his *Commentarie* upon this epistle of St. *John* has some curious and uncommon observations. He (g) does not choose to trouble himself with inquiring, who *Caius* was: the knowledge of which, he thinks, would be of no great use. It is sufficient, that we know him to have been a good Christian. Nevertheless he appears to slight the opinion, just mentioned, that (b) he was Bishop of *Pergamus*. And he argues likewise, that (i) he is different from those of the same name, mentioned in the Acts, or St. *Paul's* epistles. And indeed it cannot be thought strange, that in the times of the Apostles, there were several Christians of this name: which seems

(g) *Commentarius in Joan. Ap. epistolam tertiam. Ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertation. P. i. p. 276. . . . 328.*

(g) *Ibid. p. 277.*

(b) *Millius, Constitutionibus Apostolicis credulus, Caium hunc ecclesiae Pergamenae Episcopum scribit in Prolegomenis suis ad N. T. Eandem amplexum esse sententiam Guil. Whistonum in suo in hanc epistolam commentario, quis mirabitur? Ib. p. 277. in notis.*

(i) *P. 277. 278.*

seems to have been as common a name among the Greeks and Romans, as any name whatever.

Dr. *Heumann* says, that (*k*) *Diotrephes*, mentioned by *St. John* ver. 9. and said, to love to have the pre-eminence, was not a Heathen Magistrate, nor a heretic, nor a Bishop, but a Deacon in the church, to which he belonged. Upon which I observe.

It was easie to shew, that *Diotrephes* was not an Heathen Magistrate.

Dr. *Heumann* seems likewise to have proved, that (*l*) *Diotrephes* was not an heretic. For, as he argues, if *Diotrephes* had been a corrupter of the true Christian doctrine, it would have been the duty of the

U 4

Apostle,

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 306. 307.

(*l*) Nunc, ille *Diotrephes* quis fuerit, investigandum venit. *Erasmus* *novae heresis auctorem* vocat in *Paraphrasi*. Ac ita jam olim sensit *Beda*. . . Verum recte *Buddeus* hanc sententiam respuit. Quod si enim corruptor doctrinae apostolicae fuisset *Diotrephes*, Apostoli fuisset avocare Christianos a familiari cum ipso consuetudine: id quod fecit haereticis in secundae suae epistolae versu decimo et undecimo. Fuisset item Apostoli, notare ipsius errores, et, ut a fermento *Diotrephes* caveatur, praecipere. Jam vero id non facit, sed superbiam duntaxat ejus notat, et inhospitalitatem, et protervam non doctrinae Joannis, sed praecepti ejus de liberalitate in pios exules exercenda, contentionem. *Ib.* p. 302. 303.

Apostle, to caution Christians against familiar converse with him: in like manner as he does in the tenth and eleventh verses of his second epistle. Moreover, in that case, the Apostle would have signified his errors, and would have directed men to beware of the leaven of *Diotrephes*. But this he has not done. He only reproves his pride, want of hospitality, and a perverse contempt, not of the Apostle's doctrine, but of his direction for receiving strangers. He also quotes (*m*) *Calovius*, as speaking to the like purpose.

And the late Mr. *Mosheim*, who, as I suppose, had not seen Dr. *Heumann's* Dissertation, and gives a very different account of this epistle in several respects, allows, that (*n*) *Diotrephes* was not a heretic. So likewise

(*m*) Etiam *Calovius* ad h. l. hac de causa negat, *Diotrephen* fuisse haereticum. Si haereticus fuisset, inquit, gravius sine dubio acturus adversus eum, et Caium, aliosque, de seductione ipsius cavenda moniturus fuisset *Joannes*. Quod argumentum accepit a *Cornelio a Lapide*, cujus pene omnes sunt annotationes, quas ad hanc *Joannis* epistolam exhibet *Calovius*. *Heuman. ib. p. 303. not. (x).*

(*n*) Nullam igitur *Diotrephes* religionis dogmatibus injuriam inferebat, sed iniquus tantum erat, et ultra modum rigidus dignitatis suae custos. *Mosheim, de Reb. Christianor. p. 176. 177.*

wife argued Mr. *Lampe* (o) before either of them.

But I cannot say, that Dr. *Heumann* has proved, *Diotrephes* not to have been a Bishop. For I think, that every thing said of him in this epistle implies his being President, or chief director of things in the church, to which *Caius* belonged. However, we will consider his arguments.

In the first place he says, the (p) principal reason, why learned men have thought *Diotrephes* to be a Bishop, is because they have understood those words at ver. 10. and *casteth them out of the church*, of excommunication.

(o) De caussa rixae et contentionis inter Diotrephen et Joannem in diversa abeunt interpretes. Bartholomaeus Petri: *Credibile est, inquit, fuisse quempiam ex illis Judaeis titulotenus Christianis, qui Christi fidem ita suscipiendam putabant, ut simul servaretur lex ceremonialis Moſis. . . .* Sed optime observat Calovius, si Joannes id innuisset, quod tum sine dubio acturus adversus eundem, et Cajum aliosque de seductione ipsius cavenda moniturus esset. Nullius sane dogmatis, sed factorum tantum perverſorum Diotrephes incusatur. *Lamp. Prol. l. 1. cap. 7. §. xiv.*

(p) Alii igitur Diotrephen fuisse illius ecclesiae episcopum crediderunt, hoc potissimum usi argumento, quod excommunicasse scribatur pios exules. Verum infra docebimus, *ejicere ex ecclesia*, hic non esse excommunicare, atque adeo affingi Diotrephi excommunicationem judicio praecipiti. *Id,*
p 303.

nication. But those words, he says, are capable of another sense. They seem rather to mean, that by ill treatment he forced those strangers to leave the church, to which they had applied for relief, and to go elsewhere.

But granting, this interpretation to be right; *Diotrephes* might nevertheless be Bishop. For that ill treatment might be owing to an abuse of his episcopal power and authority.

Again, says Dr. Heumann, the (q) fault of *Diotrephes* lay in seeking pre-eminence. Which shews, he was not Bishop. For then he would have had pre-eminence. Nor does a man seek what he has already.

But I cannot perceive, that observation to be very material. For a Bishop may shew improper love of power and pre-eminence by arbitrarie proceedings in the society, over which he presides, and by an arrogant behaviour toward neighboring Bishops or Superintendents,

(q) Ac vel verbum φιλοπρωτεύων demonstrat nobis, eum haud fuisse Episcopum. Episcopus enim est ὁ πρωτεύων in ecclesia. Atqui quod quis jam habet, non expetit. *Ib.* p. 303. 304.

intendents, his equals, and, perhaps, in some respects his superiors.

Finally, not to take notice of any other arguments of this kind, Dr. *Heumann* thinks, that (r) *Diotrephes* was Deacon, and had

(r) Jam cum clarissime cognoscamus, nec haereticum, nec episcopum, nec presbyterum, nec ethnicum scilicet reipublicae rectorem, fuisse Diotrephen, via satis aperta est ad personam ejus inveniendam. Statim enim mentem nostram haec subit quaestio: An forte fuit illius ecclesiae diaconus, hoc est, bonorum ecclesiasticorum administrator? Hoc enim officium certis hominibus jam initio Christianae Ecclesiae demandatum fuisse, ex Act. vi. notum est. Ac sane facilis nunc et perspicuus nobis videtur totus hic locus noster. Praeerat scilicet aerario ecclesiastico Diotrephes. Erat ejus pauperibus inde erogare pecunias. Advenas autem fratres ideo non sublevabat, quod vix ecclesiae illius pauperibus alendis satis videretur suppetere. Id causatus alio discedere, aliorum auxilium implorare jubebat: imo dum nihil ipsis supeditabat, cogebat hoc ipso eos ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ex illa ecclesia, excedere, atque ita erat ἐκβάλλων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Erant, qui exulibus his ex aerario dari aliquid volebant. Verum non audiebat hos providus scilicet oeconomus, sed suam sequi sententiam cupiebat ceteros Christianos omnes. Atque ita erat φιλοπρωτεύων (sive ut Petrus loquitur, κατακυριεύων) αὐτῶν. Quid? Tam prudens et justus sibi videbatur oeconomus, ut ne Joannis quidem Apostoli praecepto morem gereret, ratus scilicet, eum, si hic esset, aerariiue rationes haberet cognitatas, aliter sensurum. Bonum doctorem esse Joannem, non negabat: bonum eum esse oeconomum, prudentemque in politicis rebus consiliatorem, id vero negabat. Imo eo temeritatis provehebat, ut ludicra maledicta effutiret

in

had the charge of the stock or treasure of the church, to which he belonged, and therefore he was not Bishop.

But neither do I see the force of this argument. For *Diotrephes* might have the disposal of the church-stock, and yet be Bishop. For in ancient times it was a part of the Bishop's office and care, to see, that the revenues of the church were managed, and disposed to the best advantage. This appears from (s) *Justin Martyr*, and (t) *Cyprian*. They who desire to see more proofs, may consult (u) *Bingham*. Since then we allow, *Diotrephes* to have had a right to concern himself in the disposal of the church-stock, it need not affect Dr. *Heumann's* main argument, whether he was Bishop, or Deacon.

To

in virum sanctissimum, et fortasse *senem* appellaret, cetera quidem summe venerabilem, sed hoc certe in genere *delirum*.
Ib. p. 306. 307.

(s) Οἱ εὐπορῶντες δὲ καὶ βελόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βύλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεσῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικυρεῖ ὁρανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις . . . καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ὅσι ξένοις. κ. λ. *Apol.* 2. p. 99. *A. Par.* 1636.

(t) . . . et stipendia ejus Episcopo dispensante perciperent.
Cypr. ep. 41. *al.* 38.

(u) *Antiquities of the Christian Church. B. i. ch. iv. sect. 6,*

To me; then, it seems, that *Diotrephes* was Bishop in this church, and that *Caius* was a man in a private station, of good substance, and a liberal disposition. *St. John* says ver. 9. *I wrote unto the church*: or rather (x) *I would have writ unto the church, and at the same time to Diotrephes: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth us not.* For that reason *St. John* sent this letter to *Caius*.

Let us now consider, what was the case, to which *St. John* refers in this epistle, and what was the fault of *Diotrephes*. Concerning this there have been various sentiments of learned men. *Grotius* supposed (y) these strangers here spoken of to be believing Jews, whom *Diotrephes*, a Gentil, would not receive, because they were Jews, or because they were for joyning the rites of the law with Christianity. To the like purpose

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(x) *Scriptissem forsitan ecclesiae. Vulgat. Vid. et Cleric. H. E. A. D. 92. num. ii. Vid. et Grot. in loc.*

(y) *Is vero ex illo erat hominum genere, qui Judaeos, quanquam Christum professos, si legis ritus observabant, (quod in Judaea Christiani faciebant ad haec usque tempora, ut Sulpicius nos docet) ad suos coetus non admittebant. Grot. in ep. 3. ver. 9.*

(z) *Le Clerc*, and (a) *Beausobre*. This opinion is much disliked by (b) *Dr. Heumann*. *Mr. Mosheim* (c) likewise argues against it, as an opinion, quite destitute of foundation in antiquity.

Others think, that *Diotrephes* was a Jew, and zealous for the law, and that he would not receive these strangers, converts from among the Gentils, because they did not take upon

(z) *Nolēbat autem Christianos circumcisos ab incircumcisīs seu Gentilibus, in ecclesiam admitti. Cleric. ib.*

(a) Son nom est Grec. Ce qui fait juger, qu'il étoit Payen d'origine, et c'est peut-être pour cela qu'il ne vouloit pas qu'on reçût Chrétiens d'entre les Juifs, fort méprisés par les Gentils. *Pref. sur ii. et iii. ep. de S. Jean. p. 585. Voyez aussi la remarque sur l'ep. iii. ver. 9.*

(b) *Heuman. ubi supr. p. 303. not. (a).*

(c) *Eam (causam) viri docti quaerunt in conditione eorum, quos beneficiis et amore ecclesiae excludebat. Diotrephen nempe suspicantur origine fuisse Ethnicum, illos vero quos recipere nolebat Judaeos. Ex quo efficiunt, insitum Ethnorum animis contemptum Judaeorum tantum apud eum potuisse, ut sanctissimum amoris praeceptum violaret. In hac conjectura, ut verum fatear, nihil est, quo moveri queat aliquis consideratus et rerum Christianarum non imperitus. Nam, ut omittam, omnibus eam praesidiis destitutam esse, si nomen Diotrephis excipias, quod Graecum est . . . ut taceam, nusquam aliquid memoriae proditam existare, unde pateat, tam immani Judaeorum odio et despicientia Christianos ex Graecis flagrasse, ut in fratribus eos habere nollent, et omni amoris fructu spoliarent, &c. Mosheim. De Reb. Christian. ante Const. M. p. 175.*

upon them the observation of the rites and ceremonies of the law of Moses. This opinion is mentioned by (*d*) *Lampe*. But he argues well against it.

And indeed both these opinions were confuted before, when we shewed, that *Diotrephes* was not a heretic, or that there is no reason to think him so.

It has been of late a common opinion among learned men, that (*e*) *St. John* here speaks of some, particularly Jews, who had gone out into the world, to propagate the Christian Religion. Who had acted upon a generous and disinterested principle, refusing to take any thing from those, among whom they labored, and whom they had converted to the Christian faith. And they think,

(*d*) See before. p. 297. note (*o*).

(*e*) Tertiam epistolam scripsit Gaio cuidam. . . . Hominis liberalitatem laudat, qui praecones quosdam evangelicos, e Judaea gente, qui a Gentilibus nihil accipere voluerant, opibus suis adjuvisset. *Cleric. ubi supr.*

Diotrephen duplici nomine S. Joannes objurgat: primum ideo, quod imperium sibi arrogaret in ecclesia . . . deinde propterea quod durum se ac inhumanum fratribus bene de religione Christiana promeritis exhiberet. Egressi erant quidam ex coetu, cujus membrum Diotrephes erat, ad propagandum inter vicinas gentes religionem Christianam. &c. *Moshem. ib. p. 175.*

think, that *St. John* commends *Caius* for encouraging such teachers, and blames *Diotrephes* for not receiving and helping them. But that opinion appears to me without foundation. For I see nothing that should lead us to think preachers here spoken of, but only strangers in want.

Ver. 5. *Beloved*, says *St. John* to *Caius*, *thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers*: “that is, to the members of the church, to which he belonged, and to strangers, who came to the city, where he dwelt: whom he had received civilly, and courteously, and relieved generously, if they were in want.”

Ver. 6. *Which have born witnesse of thy charity before the church*. “Some such persons, or some members of that church, had been at the place, where *St. John* resided. And before the church they declared his good temper and liberality.” *Whom if thou bring forward on their journey, after a godly sort, thou shalt do well*. “And it will be very commendable in you, if after this any other such persons should come to your city, you shall act in a like manner to them also, receiving them kindly, and forward-
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ing them in their way. This will be very becoming your Christian profession."

Ver. 7. *Because that for his name sake they went forth taking nothing of the Gentils.*

We learn from *Bede*, that (f) there were in ancient times two interpretations of these words. "For the name of Christ they went forth to preach the gospel. Or, for the faith of Christ, and the profession of his name they had left their native country, or had been expelled from it." This (g) is the sense, for which *Dr. Heuman* contends, and therefore often calls these strangers *exils*.

He supposeth these strangers to have been Gentil converts, who had forsaken their native country, or had been driven out of it, destitute of all things.

How-

(f) *Duabus autem ex causis pro nomine Domini sunt profecti, aut ad praedicandum videlicet nomen ejus proprie sponte venientes, aut propter nominis sancti fidem et confessionem a civibus seu contribubibus suis patriâ expulsi. Bed. in 3. Joan. Ep.*

(g) *Nam exules illi Christiani e patria sua cum egressi sunt, nihil quicquam suorum bonorum acceperunt ab hostibus suis Ethnicis, sed coacti sunt abire sine ullo vitae subsidio. Heuman. ubi supr. p. 327.*

However this place may be understood partly otherwise : " That we, who are Christians, ought to help these strangers in their difficulty, especially because they have not sought for relief among unbelieving Gentils : though some even of them might have been disposed to give them assistance."

Grotius (*b*) explains the place in that manner. The same sense is likewise in *Estius*. Whose (*i*) note upon this text I shall

(*b*) Μὴδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν. . . . In manuscripto ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνικῶν. . . . Potuerant in ista calamitate adjuvari misericordiā τῶν ἑξω, *extraneorum*. Sed maluerunt omnia Christianis debere. *Grot. ad ver. 7. Nos ergo. Nos Christiani ubique locorum ὀφείλομεν ἀπολαμβάνειν. . . . Manuscriptus, ὑπολαμβάνειν τοιούτους : id vero est, opitulari. Id. ad ver. 8.*

(*i*) Quod ait Apostolus, *istos profectos pro nomine Jesu Christi*, potest bibariam exponi, ait Beda, videlicet, aut ut praedicaturi evangelium ejus sponte sint profecti ad Gentiles convertendos, aut ut propter fidem et confessionem nominis Christi per Contribules suos patriā fuerint expulsi. Similiter, quod sequitur, *nihil accipientes a gentibus*, ambiguum est, an de gentibus ad fidem Christi jam conversis accipiendum sit, an de nondum conversis. Et uterque sensus sua nititur probabilitate. Illo modo sensus est, quod hi quamvis annuntiassent, et deinceps forent annuntiaturi gentibus evangelium seu fidem Christi, essentque jam complures gentilium eorum praedicatione conversi, nihil tamen ab iis exigere, vel accipere voluerint necessariae sustentationis, hac scilicet de causa, ne quod

shall now transcribe at large, it being well suited to illustrate this epistle.

Ver. 8. *We therefore ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth.*

"It should be an allowed maxim, that we are to shew kindnesse to such: otherwise, we do not act the part of Christians, who ought to encourage those who have a zeal for truth."

Ver. 9. *I wrote to the church. Or, I should have writ to the church, and therein to Diotrephes. But Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.*

"I know, he would not pay a regard to my directions."

Ver. 10. *Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds, which he does. That is,*

"I (k) will remind him of his actions, and

X 2

reprove,

quod offēdiculum darent evangelio Christi. . . . De gentibus autem non conversis si sermo sit, tunc significatur, quod isti peregrini, quamvis egerent, quācumque tantum ex causā, nihil tamen ab hujusmodi gentilibus accipere, nedum petere, voluerint: ne ii scandalizarentur, et longius a Christiana religione averterentur. Dixissent enim: Ecce nulla est charitas inter Christianos. . . . Utraque expositio bene probabilis est. Nec satis liquet, utra sit praeferenda. *Est. in 3. Joān.*

ver. 7. *ver. 7. . . .*

(k) Certe nihil aliud sibi vult Apostolus, quam se more suo

reprove, and admonish him, in order to his amendment, of which I do not despair." *prating against us with malicious words.* He proceeded so far, as to speak of the Apostle in a petulant manner. Perhaps, he said, that though St. John did well in giving out general rules for the practise of piety; yet he had no right to intermeddle in particular cases, concerning which every one should judge for himself. *And not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.* "Nor is that all. For he not only refuses to receive and entertain these brethren, but he also discourages those who would relieve and entertain them. And thus he obligeth these strangers to leave your church, and go elsewhere."

By these last words most interpreters understand, St. John to say, that *Diotrephes* excommunicated, or cast out of the church, *the brethren*, members of it, who were for receiving these strangers. But Dr. *Heumann* says,

suo mollissimum, placidissimumque in modum admoniturum esse Diotrephen peccati sui, rectamque eum revocaturum in viam. *Heuman. ibid. p. 309.*

says, that (1) by the persons, whom *Diotrephes* cast out of the church, must be understood these strangers, not the members of the church. For, as plainly appears, *Caius*

X 3

was

(1) *Universi videlicet, qui hanc tractarunt epistolam, sibi persuaferunt, describi his verbis illud poenae ecclesiasticae genus, quod excommunicatio vocari solet. Facile quidem poterat hic error agnosci. Nam primo, Caium, id, quod fieri nolebat Diotrophes, facientem, ab ipso non fuisse excommunicatum, in propatulo est. . . . Sed age, rem totam intueamur propius. Initio igitur considerandum, quosnam ecclesiâ ejecerit Diotrophes. Ab omnibus, si Beaufobrium excipimus, hoc refertur ad propinquius, τὸς βελομένους, hoc est, eos, qui volebant exules hospitio excipere. Cum vero jam graves attulimus causas, cur non credi possit hos excommunicatione eiecisse ecclesiâ, sequitur, ut statuamus, haec verba, ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει, pertinere ad remotius, ad fratres exules. His scilicet, dum nec ipse ex aerario aliquid impertiebat, et aliis, quoque, ut nihil ipsis darent, suadebat ac persuadebat, hoc ipso migrare eos cogebat alio, atque ita e sua expellebat ecclesia. Non erat igitur nostro loco necesse excommunicationem tribuere Diotrephi. Sed satis evidens est, id eum effecisse, quod omissam piorum exulum receptionem necessario consequebatur, ut videlicet exirent ecclesiâ, aliamque peterent, opum pariter et misericordiae abundantiorum. . . . Apparet hinc etiam facile, cum volentes exulum misereri κωλύειν hic dicitur Diotrophes, non credi eum debere id vetuisse pro imperio, sed allatis duntaxat causis, cur fieri id non oportebat, multos ab hoc pietatis officio revocasse. . . . Atque hoc ipsum nos admonet, verbo, ἐκβάλλειν, non necessario significari, omnes illos exules revera abire coactos, sed id etiam recte usurpari de conatu Diotrephis id efficiendi. *Heuman. ibid. p. 310. . . . 313.**

was not excommunicated, though he had done what was opposed by *Diotrephes*. Nor need it be supposed, that all the strangers, here spoken of, were obliged to leave that place, or society. *Diotrephes*, it is true, discouraged their reception, and some might remove elsewhere. Others of them, however, might continue their abode there, encouraged by *Caius*, and some other pious members of this church, who did not submit to the reasons, or the orders of *Diotrephes*.

In this interpretation it is supposed, that *casting out of the church* refers not to the persons last mentioned, who would receive these strangers, but to *the strangers*, whom *Diotrephes* would not have to be received. And *Beausobre* says, the (*m*) place may be so understood. Dr. *Heumann* blames him for not saying, that (*n*) it ought to be so understood.

There

(*m*) *Les chasse de l'église*. Cela se peut rapporter ou aux freres, ou à ceux qui les reçoient, ou aux uns et aux autres, *Sur ver. 10.*

(*n*) Hic enim in Gallica sua N. T. versione animadvertit, haec verba etiam ad remotius referri posse, hoc est, ad fratres exules. Debebat vero indulgere meditationi, nec id relinquere dubium et incertum. *Heum. ib. p. 311. not. (p).*

There have been various conjectures of learned men concerning the reasons of *Diotrepbes's* conduct, which I do not choose to take notice of now. Dr. *Heumann* supposeth, that *Diotrepbes* had the disposal of the revenues of the church. There came to the place strangers, who needed relief. But *Diotrepbes* opposed the distribution of any of the common stock, and also discouraged such, as were willing to assist them with their own. For all which, as may be supposed, he assigned some reasons. This appears to me to have been the whole of the affair.

But whether these strangers were Jews, or Gentils, I cannot say. There might be some of both. *Grotius* (o) and *Lampe* (p) think, they were Jews, who had been driven out of *Palestine*, or had been reduced to want by the general and grievous calamity

X 4

of

(o) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον id est, a Judaea e-
jecti sunt per Judaeos incredulos ob Christum. *Grot. ad*
ver. 7.

(p) Unde colligimus, peregrinos hos, quorum causam Jo-
annes tam impense egit, fuisse Judaeos ex Palaestina cum eo
profugos, qui pro se aliisque per totalem regionis illius de-
vastationem ad summam egestatem redactis, opem ecclesia-
rum Asiae florentium implorabant. *Lamp. Proleg. l. 1. c. 7.*
num. xvi.

of that countrey, and had come into *A-fia* with hopes of relief, and for the sake of a settlement. *Heumann*, as before seen, says they were Gentils. For certain they were Christians. And St. *John*, I think, says, that we ought to receive such, whether they be of Jewish or Gentil stock, *that we may be fellow-helpers to the truth*: "that we also may serve the interests of truth, for the sake of which these persons have suffered the losse of all things."

Ver. 11. *Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good.* Here the Apostle exhorts *Caius* to persist in his good conduct, and to be upon his guard, not to be influenced by any bad examples.

In the 12. verse he recommends to him *Demetrius*, by whom, as may be supposed, this letter was carried.

In the 13. and 14. verses he sends salutations, and speaks again of coming to the place, where *Caius* dwelled, and of *speaking with him face to face*. Which I suppose he did.

And I please my-self with the supposition, that his journey was not in vain. I imagine, that *Diotrephes* submitted, and

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acquiesced in the advices and admonitions of the Apostle. Of this I have no certain assurance. However I may add: that neither does any one else know the contrarie.

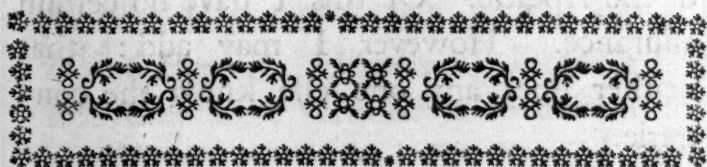
VI. Concerning the time of writing these two epistles nothing can be said with certainty. *Mill* (q) placeth them about the same time with the first, in 91. or 92. *Whiston* (r) likewise supposeth, that they were all three writ about the year 82. or 83. I imagine, that *St. John* was somewhat advanced in age, and that he had resided a good while in *Asia*, before he wrote any of these epistles. Consequently, I am disposed to think, that these two were not writ sooner than the first. And as it was before (s) argued, that the first epistle was writ about the year 80. these two may be reckoned to have been writ between the years 80. and 90.

*When they
were writ.*

(q) *Proleg. num.* 151.

(r) *As before. p.* 14. 15.

(s) *See above. p.* 275.

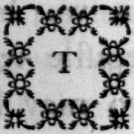


C H A P. XXI.

St. Jude, and his Epistle.

- I. *His Historie.* II. *Testimonies to the genuinness of the Epistle.*
 III. *To whom it was sent.* IV. *The Time, when it was writ.*

His Historie.

- I.  H E writer describes himself in this manner at the begining of the epistle. ch. i. ver. 1. *Jude (a) the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.* Those two characters lead us to think, that he was one of those called the Lord's brethren, and that he was an Apostle. Our Lord's brethren, as enumerated in Matt. xiii. 55. are *James, and Joses, and Simon,* and

(a) *Ἰεδ'ας, ἰσ'χ' χρισ' δ'ε'λος, ἀδελφὸς δ'ὲ ἰακώβου.*

and Judas. In Mark vi. 3. *James, and Joseph, and Judas, and Simon.* And in the catalogues of the Apostles are these. Matt. x. 3. *James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus. Simon the Canaanite.* Mark iii. 18. *James the son of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite.* Luke vi. 15. 16. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.* Acts i. 13. *James the son of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.*

Thus he appears to have been sometimes called *Judas*, at other times *Thaddeus*, or *Lebbeus*. As I do not inquire into the meaning and origin of these names, I refer to (b) others. I only observe, that it was no uncommon thing among the Jews, for a man to have different names, as *Simon*, sometimes called *Simeon*, at other times *Peter*, or *Cephas*. And *Thomas* was also called *Didymus*.

Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ. He does
not

(b) See *Lightfoot's Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew. Vol. 2. p. 176. Witſii Comm. in ep. Judae. num. ii. Cave's Life of St. Jude, in English. Dr. Benson's Preface to this epistle. Sect. i.*

not thereby deny himself to be an Apostle. *St. Paul* does not always take upon himself that character at the beginning of his epistles. It is wanting in his two epistles to the *Thessalonians*, in the epistles to the *Philippians*, and to *Philemon*. The epistle to the *Philippians* begins in this manner. *Paul and Timothy, servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi.*

It follows. *And brother of James* : meaning *James*, sometimes called *the Lord's brother*, and *son of Alphaeus*, one of the twelve Apostles. And he does fitly so stile himself, as that *James* was the eldest brother, and was of note among the Apostles, after our Saviour's ascension, and in great repute among the Jewish believers. As appears from Acts xii. 17. xv. xxi. 18. . . . 25. and Gal. i. 19. ii. 9.

We have no account of *Jude's* vocation to the apostleship. Nor is there any thing said of him particularly in the Gospels, except what is related in *John* xiv. 21. 22. 23. in the account, which that Evangelist has given of our Lord's most excellent and affectionate discourses with the disciples a short time before his last sufferings. *He that bath*
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my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father. And I will love him, and will manifest my-self to him. Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot: Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thy self to us, and not unto the world! Jesus answered, and said unto him: If a man love me, he will keep my words. And my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.

This disciple still had the common prejudice concerning the kingdom of the Messiah. And he asks our Saviour with surprise, how he could speak of manifesting himself to a few only, when he was about to set up an universal monarchie in great power and splendour? Our Lord tells him, (what he might have known before,) that his kingdom, as Messiah, was spiritual, a kingdom of truth and righteousness: and that the blessings and privileges of it were peculiar to good men, who obeyed the precepts of true religion, which had been taught by him. Such would be accepted, and approved by himself, and by his heavenly Father, in whose name he had spoken. This they would all know, when he should
come

come again among them, after his resurrection, and when the gift of the Spirit should be bestowed upon them, and others his followers.

As there is little said of *Jude* in the historie of our Saviour before his resurrection, so *St. Luke* in the Acts has inserted nothing particularly concerning him after it. However it is unquestionable, that he partook of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost at the Pentecost next after our Lord's ascension: and that he joyned with the other Apostles in bearing an open testimonie to our Lord's resurrection at *Jerusalem*: and that he had a share with them in the reproaches and other sufferings, which they endured upon that account.

It may be also reasonably supposed, that for a while he preached the gospel in several parts of the land of *Israel*, and wrought miracles in the name of Christ. But what they were, we cannot say, because they are not recorded by *St. Luke*, nor any other credible historian near the time.

As his life seems to have been prolonged, it may be also reckoned very likely, that he afterwards left *Judea*, and went abroad, preaching the gospel to Jews and Gentils in
other

other countreys. But we have no account of his travels, that can be relied on. Some have said, that he preached in *Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia*: and that he suffered martyrdom in this last mentioned countrey. But of these things there remains not any credible historie.

Indeed, it may be questioned, whether *St. Jude* was a Martyr. It was formerly observed by (c) us, that *Heracleon*, a learned *Valentinian*, as cited by *Clement of Alexandria*, reckons (d) among Apostles, who had not died by martyrdom, *Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi*. And it was then said, that by *Levi, Heracleon*, probably, meant *Lebbeus*, that is, *Judas*. Which is allowed by (e) *Dodwell*, and some other learned writers, to whom we then referred. Nor does *Jerome*, in his article of *St. Jude*, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, say any thing of his having died a Martyr.

Jerome

(c) See the first Volume of this Supplement. p. 87. not. (B).

(d) 'Ου γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐξ ὧν ματθαῖος, φίλιππος, θωμᾶς, λευὶς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. *Heracleon ap. Clem. A. Str. l. 4. p. 502.*

(e) *Diff. Iren. i. num. xxiv.*

Jerome, in his commentarie upon the tenth chapter of *St. Matthew*, where is the catalogue of the Apostles, says, "that (f) the Apostle *Thaddeus*, called by the Evangelist *Luke*, *Jude the brother of James*, was sent to *Edeffa* to *Agbarus* King of *Osroëne*." But *Eusebius*, in his account of that affair, says, "that (g) *Thomas*, one of the twelve sent to *Edeffa* *Thaddeus*, one of Christ's seventy disciples, to preach the gospel in those countreys." And in the preceding (b) chapter, where he speaks of Christ's seventy disciples, he reckons *Thaddeus*, who went to *Edeffa*, one of them. Whence it came to pass, that *Jerome* called him an Apostle, and reckoned him one of the twelve, is (i) not easie to say. But I imagine, that what he says in his Commentarie upon *St. Matthew*, is an inaccuracie, owing to his writing in haste. This conjecture receives confirmation hence, that in the article of *St. Jude*,

(f) *Thaddaeum* Apostolum, ecclesiastica tradit historia missum *Edeffan* ad *Abgarum* regem *Osroenae*, qui ab Evangelista *Luca*, *Judas Jacobi* dicitur. In *Matt. T. 4. p. 35. in.*

(g) *H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 32.*

(b) *Cap. 12. p. 31. A.*

(i) *Vid. Vales. Annot. in loc. p. 21.*

Jude, in the Catalogue above mentioned, he says nothing of that journey.

Before I proceed any farther, I must take notice of (*k*) a Dissertation of the learned *Theodore Haseus*: in which he argues, that *Judas*, called *Lebbeus*, and *Thaddeus*, is the same as *Levi*, of whose call *St. Mark* ch. ii. 13. . . . 17. and *St. Luke* ch. v. 27. . . . 32. give an account.

He supposeth, that *St. Matthew* ch. ix. 9. . . . 13. gives an account of his own call to be an Apostle, and that *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* give an account of the call of another Publican, named *Levi*, or *Lebbeus*, or *Judas*.

Upon which I observe.

I. That is a very forced interpretation. The whole historie, and all the circumstances of it, shew, that one and the same person is spoken of by all the three Evangelists. And the coherence renders it indubitable. The same things precede and follow
in

(*k*) Theodori Hasei de Levi a Christo ad Apostolatam vocato: ad loca Marci ii. 14. seqq. Luc. v. 27. seqq. Disquisitio. Quâ eum non, ut vulgo putatur, Matthaeum, sed Judam Thaddaeum esse ostenditur. *Ap. Biblioth. Brem. Cl. v. Fascic. iii. num. vi. p. 475. &c. Bremac. 1721.*

in those several Evangelists : as may be perceived by any one, who compares them.

2. So far as we can find, it has been the opinion of the most ancient and learned Christian writers, that *Matthew* and *Levi* are two names of one and the same man. So thought (1) *Eusebius*. So likewise (m) *Jerome* in several places of his works. Which shews, it was his settled opinion, and that he never hesitated about it. The (n) compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions says the same expressly. *Victor* of *Antioch* in his Commentarie upon *St. Mark* says, that (o) *Mark* and *Luke*, when they give

(1) *Vid. Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. v. p. 119. &c. cited in this work. Vol. viii. p. 83. &c.*

(m) *Primus omnium Matthaeus est Publicanus cognomen- to Levi, qui Evangelium in Judaea Hebraeo sermone edidit. Hieron. Prol. in Matt. T. 4. in. citat supra Vol. x. p. 83.*

Ceteri Evangelistae propter verecundiam et honorem Matthaei noluerant eum nomine appellare vulgato, sed dixerunt Levi. Duplici quippe vocabulo fuit. Id. in Matt. cap. x. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 30.

Matthaeus, qui et Levi, ex Publicano Apostolus. De V. I. cap. 3.

(n) *Περὶ δὲ ἀναγνώσων ἐγὼ ματθαῖος, ὃ καὶ λευὶς, ὁ ποτὶ τελέωνις, διατάσσομαι. Const. Ap. l. 8. c. 22.*

(o) *Est autem Levi hic idem omnino cum Evangelista Matthaeo. Et quidem Marcus et Lucas nomen, quod illi familiare*

give an account of his call at the Receipt of custom, designedly use a name, by which he was not so well known, as that of *Matthew*. *Jerome* speaks to the like purpose in a passage, already †† transcribed. It is very likely, that *Victor* had seen that observation in more ancient writers : and possibly in *Origen*, in (*p*) whose preface to his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Romans*, as we now have it in Latin only, is somewhat equivalent. However, he plainly says, that *Matthew* and *Levi* are only two names of one and the same man.

3. *Hasaeus* argues, that (*q*) *Levi* is never

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said

miliare erat, primaeva appellatione obnubunt. &c. *Victor in S. Marc. ap. Bib. PP. Lugd. T. 4. p. 375. B. Citat. vol. xi. hujus operis. p. 32.*

†† See p. 322. note. (*m*).

(*p*) Prima nobis quaestio de nomine ipsius Pauli videtur exurgere, cur is qui Saulus dictus est in Actibus Apostolorum, nunc Paulus dicatur. . . . Invenimus igitur in scripturis aliquantos binis, alios etiam ternis usos esse nominibus. . . . Sed nec Evangelia quidem hunc renuunt morem. Nam et Matthaeus ipse refert de se, quod cum transiret Jesus, invenit quendam sedentem ad telonium nomine Matthaeum. Lucas vero de eodem dicit : quia cum transiret Jesus, quendam vidit publicanum nomine Levi. &c. *Origen. in ep. ad Rom. Tom. 2. p. 458. Basil.*

(*q*) Nam observabam, Matthaeum numquam dici Levin, vel Levin vicissim appellari Matthaeum. &c. *Has. ubi supra. p. 477.*

said in the Gospels to have been also called *Matthew*, nor is *Matthew* said to be otherwise called *Levi*.

To which I answer, there was no necessity that we should be told this. It is allowed, that *Thaddeus*, and *Lebbeus*, and *Judas*, are names of one and the same Apostle. And (r) it was also so understood by ancient Christians. Some of whom I have quoted below. Nevertheless St. *Luke* has never told us, that *Judas* was surnamed *Thaddeus*, or *Lebbeus*. Nor has St. *Matthew*, or St. *Mark* said, that *Thaddeus*, or *Lebbeus*, was also called *Judas*.

These observations, as seems to me, are sufficient to confirm the common opinion. However I will add a thought or two, of less moment.

4. St.

(r) Thaddaeum Apostolum ... qui ab Evangelista Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et allibi appellatur Lebbeus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque est eum fuisse trinomium: sicut Simon, Petrus, et filii Zebedaei, Boanerges, ex firmitate et magnitudine fidei nominati sunt. Hieron. in Matt. x. T. 4. p. 35. in.

Ἦν γὰρ ἕτερος ἰούδας ὁ λεββαῖος, ὁ καὶ ἐπικληθεὶς θαδδαῖος, ὃν ἰακώβου φησὶν εἶναι ὁ λευκάς, λέγων ἰούδας ἰακώβου. Chrys. in Matt. hom. 32. al. 33. Tom. 7. p. 369.

Vid. et Hesychii Quaestiones. Diff. xiv. ap. Coteler Monum. Gr. Tom. 3. p. 11.

4. *St. Matthew*, in the catalogue of the Apostles, placeth himself in this manner. ch. x. 3. *and Matthew the Publican*: *ματθαῖος ὁ τελώνης*. May it not be hence argued with probability, that he was the only Publican among the Apostles, and that there was no other?

5. If we were to form a conjecture concerning the employment, that was followed by *Jude*, before he was an Apostle, it (*s*) would be that of an husbandman. In the Apostolical Constitutions the Apostles are made to say: "Some (*t*) of us are fishermen, others tentmakers, others husbandmen." Undoubtedly several of the Apostles were fishermen. But by the later part of the sentence no more may be meant, than that there was among them one tentmaker, even *Paul*, and one husbandman, intending, perhaps, *St. Jude*. For *Hege-sippus*, as quoted by *Eusebius*, writes, "that (*t*) when *Domitian* made inquiries after the posterity of *David*, some grandsons of *Jude*, called the Lord's brother, were brought be-

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fore

(*s*) *Vid. Cav. H. L. in S. Jude.*

(*t*) ἔτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τῶ κυρίου υἱανοὶ ἰῖδα, τῶ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένῳ αὐτῶ ἀδελφῷ, οὓς ἐδηλατόρευσαν, ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας δαβίδ, *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 20.*

fore him. Being asked concerning their possessions, and substance, they assured him, that they had only so many acres of land, out of the emprovement of which they both paid him tribute, and maintained themselves with their own hard labour. The truth of what they said was confirmed by the calousnesse of their hands. Being asked concerning Christ, and his kingdom, of what kind it was, and when it would appear; they answered, that it was not worldly and earthly, but heavenly and angelical: that it would be manifested at the end of the world: when coming in great glorie he would judge the living and the dead, and render to every man according to his works. The men being mean, and their principles harmles, they were dismissed."

Hence some may argue, that *St. Jude* himself had been an husbandman. And from this account, if it may be relied upon, we learn, that this Apostle was married, and had children.

That may suffice for the historie of *St. Jude*.

*The Genu-
innesse of
his Epistle.*

II. In the next place I am to observe the evidences of the genuinnesse, and canonical

nonical authority of the epistle ascribed to him.

Somewhat relating to this point has been already said in the xv. chapter, concerning the Catholic Epistles in general. To which chapter therefore the reader is referred, though I may here transcribe some things from it, for shewing the authority of this epistle in particular.

It should be remembred, that *Eusebius* having enumerated the books of Scripture, universally received from the begining, and among them the first epistle of *Peter*, and the first epistle of *John*, he adds: "And (u) among the contradicted, but yet well known to the most, (or approved by many,) are that called the epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second of *Peter*, and the second, and third of *John*." So that in his time this epistle was well known, and received by many, though not by all.

This epistle is no where expressly cited by *Irenaeus*, who wrote about the year of Christ 178. Whether he has at all referred to it, was considered formerly. And the reader is referred to what was then (x) said.

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(u) See before. p. 5.

(x) See Vol. i. p. 377. 378. and p. 381 num. viii.

Clement of *Alexandria* flourished about the year 194. *Eusebius* giving an account of his works, says, “that (*y*) in his Institutions *Clement* had given explications of all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted. I mean the epistle of *Jude*, and the other catholic epistles.”

That work, entitled Institutions, is lost. But we have in Latin a small treatise or fragment, called *Adumbrations*, supposed to be translated from the Institutions. Here are notes upon the epistle of *Jude*: in which is an observation concerning the modestie of the writer: “that (*z*) *Jude*, who wrote a catholic epistle, did not stile himself at the begining of it, brother of the Lord, though he was related to him, but *Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.*”

Which observation serves to shew, whom *Clement* took to be the writer of this epistle.

He

(*y*) ... μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθὼν τὴν ἰδέα λέγει καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. *H. E. l. 6. cap. 14. in.*

(*z*) Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Joseph, existans valde religiosus, quum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse. Sed quid dixit? *Jacobus servus Jesu Christi*, utpote Domini, *frater autem Jacobi.* *Adumbrat. in epist. Judae. p. 1007. ed. Oxon.*

He supposed him to be one of them, who are called the Lord's brethren. Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. and an Apostle. See Luke vi. 16. In that Adumbration follow brief remarks upon almost every verse of the epistle, except the last, or 25. verse.

It might be observed likewise, that in that place *Clement* declares his opinion concerning those called the Lord's brethren, that they were children of *Joseph*.

This epistle is also quoted expressly by *Clement* in two of his works, which remain entire, the *Pedagogue* or *Instructor*, and the *Stromata* or *Miscellanies*.

In the *Pedagogue* he speaks to this purpose: "*I will (a) that ye should know, says Jude, that God having once saved the people out of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not. And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he (b) has reserved in everlasting chains under darknesse, unto the judgement of the great day. And afterwards, he emphatically describes the characters of those who are judged.*

Woe

(a) *Paed. l. 3. p. 239.*

(b) . . . δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόρον ἀγγέλων [al. ἀγίων.] ἀγγέλων τετήρηκεν.

Woe unto them, for they have walked in the way of Cain, and ran greedily in the error of Balaam for reward, and perished in the gain-saying of Core. . . . Jude. ver. 5. 6. and 11.

In his *Stromata* Clement writes to this purpose: "Of (c) these, and the like heretics, I think, Jude spoke prophetically in his epistle: *Likewise also these dreamers*, and what follows to, *And their mouth speaketh great swelling words:*" that is, from ver. 8. to ver. 16. And that manner of quoting shews, that the epistle was in the hands of many people, or of all Christians in general, to be consulted by them.

I have been thus prolix in rehearsing these passages of *Clement*. For they appear to me a sufficient proof of the antiquity, and genuinenesse of this epistle: or that it was writ by *Jude*, one of Christ's twelve Apostles. However I would also refer those of my readers, who are willing to look back, to *Clement's* testimonie to this, and the other catholic epistles, as formerly observed in (d) his chapter.

In

(c) *Επὶ τέτων, οἷμαι, καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρέσεων προφητικῶς ἰδέναι ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐρμηνεύει· Ὁμοίως μὲντοι καὶ ἔτοι ἐνοπνιαζόμενοι· ὁ γὰρ ὕπαρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἑαίς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα.* Strom. l. 3. p. 431. A. B.

(d) See ch. xxii. Vol. ii. p. 510. . . . 515.

In *Tertullian*, about the year 200. is but one quotation of this epistle. But it is very express. "Hence (e) it is, says he, that *Enoch* is quoted by the Apostle *Jude*." Intending the 14. verse of the epistle, and making no doubt, that the writer was an Apostle.

In *Origen*, about the year 230. are divers plain quotations of *St. Jude's* epistle.

In his *Commentaries* upon *St. Matthew*, which we still have in *Greek*, having taken notice of the words of *Matth. xiii. 55. 56.* ... beside other remarks, he says, "that (f) *James* is the same, whom *Paul* mentions in the epistle to the *Galatians*, as having been seen by him." *Gal. i. 19.* He also observes a passage, said to be in the *Antiquities of Josephus*, relating to the same *James*. Then he adds: "And (g) *Jude* wrote an epistle, of few lines indeed, but full of the powerful

(e) *Eo accidit, quod Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium perhibet. De Cultu Fem. l. 1. cap. 3. p. 172. A.*

(f) *Ἰακώβος δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὃν λέγει παῦλος εἶδέν ἐν τῇ πρὸς γαλάτας ἐπιστολῇ, εἰπὼν κ. λ. Comment. in Matt. p. 223. C. Huet. p. 463. B. T. 3. Bened.*

(g) *Καὶ ἰδὼς ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν, ὀλιγόσμιον μὲν, πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῶν τῆς θρανίου χάριτος ἐρρωμένων λόγων, ὅστις ἐν τῷ προοίμῳ ἔρηκεν· Ἰεδὰς ἰσοῦ χριστοῦ δούλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἰακώβου. Ibid. p. 223. D. al. p. 463. D.*

ful words of the heavenly grace, who at the beginning says: *Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.*" These passages are of use to shew us, whom Origen took to be the writer of this epistle.

Again, in the same Commentaries. "And (b) in the epistle of Jude: *To them that are beloved [or sanctified] in God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called.*

Once more, in the same Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's Gospel, having quoted 1. Pet. i. 12. he says: "But (i) if any one receives also the epistle of Jude, let him consider what will follow from what is there said: *And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, be has reserved in everlasting chains under darknesse, unto the judgement of the great day.*"

This epistle is also quoted in those works of Origen, which we now have only in a Latin translation. But forbearing to take farther notice of them here, I refer to the account

(b) Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδέα ἐπιστολῇ, τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις καὶ ἰσῷ χριστῷ τετηρημένοις καὶ κλητοῖς. Ib. p. 332. A. al. 607. C.

(i) Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδέα πρὸς αὐτὸν τις ἐπιστολὴν, ὁρᾷ τι ἔπεται τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ. Ἀγγέλους τε μὴ τηρήσαντας, κ. λ. Ib. p. 488. E. al. p. 814. C.

account formerly given at large of Origen's testimonie to the Scriptures, in (*k*) the third volume of this work.

Upon the whole we perceive, that there were some in his time, who doubted of, or denied the authority of this epistle. But himself, as seems to me, admitted the genuinenesse and authority of it. For he quotes it expressly, without hesitation, as writ by *Jude*, one of the Lord's brethren, and brother of *James*, consequently Apostle. And he says, that it was full of the powerfull words of the heavenly grace.

I have not observed any notice taken of this epistle (*l*) in the writings of *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, about the year 248. and afterwards.

It is quoted by the Anonymous Author against the Novatian Heretic, who wrote about the year 255. But he does not name *St. Jude*. His words are: "As (*m*) it is written: Behold he cometh with ten thousands of his angels, to execute judgement upon all,"

(*k*) Ch. xxxviii. Vol. iii. p. 269. . . . 272.

(*l*) See ch. xlii. Vol. iv. p. 836.

(*m*) Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis millibus nunciorum suorum, facere judicium de omnibus. &c. *Ap. Cyprian. in App. p. 20. Vid. et hujus operis Vol. iv. p. 874.*

"all, and what follows," that is, the 14. and 15. verses of the epistle.

Eusebius flourished about the year 315. I have already transcribed from him a (*n*) passage concerning the catholic epistles, and among them concerning St. *Jude's*, which ought to be recollected here. There is another taken from him, at (*o*) the beginning of this article. And I shall here put down again a third passage transcribed above in the chapter of (*p*) the epistle of St. *James*. Where having given an account of the martyrdom of St. *James*, he says: "Thus (*q*) far concerning *James*, who is said to be the writer of the first of the epistles, called catholic. But it ought to be observed, that it is spurious: [that is contradicted:] Forasmuch as there are not many of the ancients, who have made mention of it: as neither of that called *Jude's*, which likewise is one of the epistles called catholic. However we know, that (*r*) these also are commonly used [or publicly read] in most churches together with the rest."

That

(*n*) See p. 2. of this volume.

(*o*) P. 335. (*p*) P. 86.

(*q*) H. E. l. 2. c. 23. p. 66. C.

(*r*) Ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδιμύχιευμέναις ἐκκλησίαις. *Ibid.*

That passage needs no comment. This epistle was generally received in the time of *Eusebius*, though not by all.

Lucifer of *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, about 354. has quoted (s) almost the whole of this epistle. He quotes it expressly, as (t) writ by the excellent Apostle *Jude*, brother of the Apostle *James*."

I need not particularly mention more authors. For after the time of *Eusebius*, seven catholic epistles were generally received by all Christians, Greeks and Latins. *St. Jude's* epistle therefore, as well as the rest, was received by *Athanasius*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *Epiphanius*, *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, *Jerome*, *Rufin*, the third Council of *Carthage*, *Augustin*, *Isidore* of *Pelusium*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and others, whose names may be seen in the alphabetical Table in the twelfth volume, under the article of *Seven Catholic Epistles*. But (u) it was not received by the *Syrians*.

And it may not be amiss to observe here, that we have found this epistle oftener quoted

(s) See *Vol. ix. p. 42. 43.*

(t) Cum exhortetur Judas, gloriosus Apostolus, frater Jacobii Apostoli. &c. *Ap. Bib. PP. T. 4. p. 227. C....E.*

(u) See *Vol. ix. p. 217. and 221. Vol. xi. p. 272. 274.*

ted by writers, who lived before the time of *Eusebius*, than the epistle of St. *James*.

Of the authors above named there are two, of whom I would take some farther notice.

Epiphanius, about 368. in his *Heretic* of the Gnostics, expressly “cites (u) the catholic epistle of the Apostle *Jude*, brother of *James*, and of the Lord, writ by inspiration.” This epistle is received by *Jerome*, as writ by the Apostle *Jude*, as may be recollected by those, who have read his chapter in the tenth volume of this work. Where (x) in his letter to *Paulinus*, he says: “The Apostles *James*, *Peter*, *John*, *Jude*, write seven epistles, of few words, but full of sense.”

And in the chapter of St. *Jude* in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, he says: “*Jude* (y) brother of *James*, left a short “epistle, which is one of the seven called “catholic. But (z) because of a quotation “from

(u) Ως καὶ περὶ τέτων οἶμαι ἐκινήθη. τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῇ ἀποστόλῃ ἰέδω, λέγων δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς γραφείῃ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. Ἰέδω δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἰακώβου καὶ κυρίου λεγόμενος. H. 26. n. xi. p. 92. D.

(x) Vol. x. p. 77.

(y) P. 133.

(z) Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in eâ as-
sumitur

“ from a book of *Enoch*, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by many. However at length it has obtained authority, and is reckoned among the sacred scriptures.”

There is some inaccuracy in *Jerome's* manner of expression. For a book to be at the same time *rejected by the most, or many*, and to *be reckoned among the sacred scriptures*, are inconsistent. But it might have been properly said: “ that whereas it had been rejected by many, because of a quotation from an apocryphal book ; it had at length obtained authority, and was reckoned among the sacred scriptures.”

Many learned men (*a*) have carefully considered this difficulty. But as the ancients overcame it, and at length admitted the authority of this epistle, perhaps it might have been passed over, as a thing of no great consequence. Indeed, if there is a credible testimony to any book, or epistle, that it was
writ

sumitur testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur. Tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, et inter sanctas scripturas computatur. *De V. l. cap. iv.*

(*a*) *Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to the epistle of St. Jude. Dr. Benson in his preface to this epistle, sect. i. and many others.*

writ by an Apostle, such a passage need not cause much hesitation. Origen has an observation in one of his Latin tracts. "St. Paul (b) says: *As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses*. This is not found in the public scriptures, but in a secret book, entitled *Jannes and Jambres*. For which reason some have been so daring, as to argue against that epistle of *Timothie*, though in vain." For certain such an objection could be of little weight against so well attested a writing, as St. Paul's second epistle to *Timothie*. Nor ought it to weigh much in this case.

I might conclude here. But for the sake of some, shall add the two following observations.

I. It is not certain, that St. Jude cites any book. He only says, that (c) *Enoch*
pro-

(b) Item quod ait, sicut Jannes et Mambres resistunt Moysi, non invenitur in publicis scripturis, sed in libro secreto, qui superscribitur Jannes et Mambres. Unde ausi sunt quidam epistolam ad Timotheum repellere, quasi habentem in se textum alicujus secreti. Sed non potuerunt. In *Matth. Tract.* 35. p. 193. *Tom. 2. Basil.* Et in hoc opere Vol. iii. p. 341. 342.

(c) Verum quicquid et vetustis patribus et recentioribus quibusdam videatur, non potest ullo mihi pacto probari, Judam

propheſied, ſaying, the Lord cometh with ten thouſands of his ſaints. Which (*d*) might be words of a prophecie, preſerved by tradition, and inſerted occaſionally in divers writings. Nor is there good evidence, that in *St. Jude's* time there was exſtant any book entitled *Enoch*, or *Enoch's Prophecies*, though there was ſuch a book in the hands of Chriſtians in the ſecond and third centuries. Moreover *St. Jude* might aſcribe to *Enoch* what it is reaſonable to believe was the import of his prophecie.

I tranſcribe here an obſervation, which I

Z 2

have

dam Apoſtolum ex libro ſcripto temporibus ejus exſtante, tritaque prophetia ſuum illud vaticinium deprompſiſſe. Nam primo id Judas non teſtatur. Qui ſimpliciter habet: *ἡμεῖς*. Prophetiam ſcriptis ab eo conſignatam eſſe non dicit. *J. H. Heidegger. Hiſt. Patr. Exercita. x. de Prophecia Enocbi. §. v. Tom. i. p. 271.*

At neque dicit Judas Henochum ita ſcripſiſſe: neque in libro, qui Henochi dicitur, prophetiae hujus vel vola vel veſtigium reperitur. Imo credibile eſt, Judae aetate ſuppoſitum hunc librum ne quidem in rerum natura fuiſſe, ſed a putido et portentoso neſcio quo Cabbaliſta Graecanico, vel ab haeretico, et ſciolo aliquo Chriſtum profeſſo, ſub Henochi nomine procuſum eſſe. *Witſius in ep. Jud. num. xli. p. 502.*

(*d*) Alii denique verſimilium arbitrantur, habuiſſe Judam ex nota et confeſſa eo tempore traditione: quam veram eſſe Spiritu magiſtro cognovit, dignamque judicavit, quam ſua hac epiſtola conſecraret aeternitati. Cui ſententiae ego quoque haſtenus acquieſco. *Witſ. ubi ſupr. num. xli. p. 503.*

have met with : " Saint *Jude* (e) in his epistle, from the circumstances of the men, and the manners of the people, to whom *Enoch* preached, gathered what might be the sum of *Enoch's* preaching, in this sort. *Behold, the Lord cometh.* How ? As at the giving of the law, *with thousands of his angels, to give judgement against all men, and to rebuke all the ungodly among them of all their wicked deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their cruel speakings, which wicked sinners have spoken against him.* Upon which words the Greeks, not knowing the course of the Hebrews in their feigned speeches, imagined, that *Enoch* left a book of his preaching behind him."

Grotius (f) has somewhat to the like purpose.

And

(e) *The General Review of the Holy Scriptures.* p. 39. by *Thomas Hayne.* London. 1640. Folio.

(f) Solebant Rabbini et angelis, et magnis hominibus, tribuere ea verba, quae verisimiliter dicere potuerunt. Tale illud quod de Enocho habebimus, et illud quod Hebr. xii. 21. et Act. vii. 26. &c. *Grot. ad S. Jud. ver. 9.*

Solebant, ut modo dixi, Rabbini et angelis, et viris magnis tribuere ea dicta, quae dixisse poterant. *Id. ad ver. 14.*

Quod tunc Enoch aut dixit, aut dicere potuit, imminente diluvio, idem Judas ad ingentem illam internecionem, quae Judaeis contumacibus imminabat, referre commode potuit. *Id. ib. ad ver. 15.*

And *J. H. Heidegger* (g) approved of this manner of interpretation. He supposes, *St. Jude* to refer to the words of *Moses*. Gen. v. 22. and 24. *And Enoch walked with God.* *Coccejus*, also, as cited (h) by *Witsius*, ar-

Z 3

gued

(g) Distinguendum accurate est inter fundamentum prophetiae, et ejus formulam. Fundamentum quod attinet, est illud totum ἔγγραφον. . . . Alterum est, quod scriptum reperitur, *Enochum cum Deo ambulasse*. Ex eo Judae proclive fuit conficere Enochum non pro se tantum quaesivisse Deum, sed etiam alios proposito terrore ultimi judicii ab impietate et injustitia deterruisse: neque potuisse cum Deo ambulare, vel pii viri officio defungi, nisi judicium Domini venturi cum myriadibus angelorum hominibus suae aetatis annuntiaret. Cum igitur non potuerit non loqui de judicio Domini super venturo impiis, et ii, de quibus S. Judas loquitur, sint ultimi temporis, conficit, Enochum diu ante diluvium de iis prophetasse. . . . Porro quod formulam attinet prophetiae, cujus fundamentum ita in Scripturis ostendimus, illam ex iis verbis contexuit Judas, in quorum virtute eam latere per σύνεσιν πνευματικὴν intelligentiam spiritualem, probe scivit. *Heid.* ubi *supra*. num. x. p. 277.

(h) Celeberrimus Coccejus conjectat Judam ex historia Mosaiica collegisse. Nam, inquit, prophetasse Henochum, satis constat ex sacris literis. Ambulavit enim cum Deo. Ergo cum Deo fecit, defectuibus se opposuit, verbis sine dubio in Spiritu Sancto dictis, et opere. . . . Porro Judas talia Henochum prophetasse testatur, quae optime et pathetice ei attribuuntur in prosopopoeia. Quae quidem non male mihi animadversa videntur. Attamen non validum satis firmamentum continere, cui Judae allegatio commode inaedificetur. Nam Judas formulam prophetiae Henochi adscribit, quae ex Mose disci non potest. *Wits. ib. num. xli. p. 502. et 503.*

gued not very differently, though *Witfus* did not fully approve of it.

I shall add a thought or two confirming that method of interpretation. *St. Peter* 2. ep. ii. 5. calls *Noah*, a preacher of righteousness: referring, I suppose, to the historie in *Genesis*, though it is not expressly said there. And at ver. 7. 8. he says of *Lot*, that he was vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked: and that dwelling among them, in seeing and bearing, he vexed his righteous soul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds. These things are not expressly said in the book of *Genesis*. Nevertheless I make no question, but the Apostle refers to what is there said, and deduceth these things thence, and not from an apocryphal, or any other writing whatever.

There is no necessity therefore to suppose, that *St. Jude* quoted a book called *Enoch*, or *Enoch's Prophecies*.

2. Allowing *St. Jude* to quote such a book, he gives it no authority. It was no canonical book of the Jews. That is certain. Consequently, if there was such a book among them, it was apocryphal. But though it was so, there might be in it some right things. These *St. Jude* might take,
without

without approving the whole of it. To this purpose (*i*) *Jerome* has argued largely, and very well, in his *Commentarie* upon the epistle to *Titus*, upon occasion of *St. Paul's* quotation of *Epimenides*. Tit. i. 12. And *Cave* says, "It (*k*) is no more strange, that *St. Jude* should quote an apocryphal book, than that *St. Paul* should put down *Jannes* and *Jambres* for the two Magicians of *Pharaoh* that opposed *Moses*. Which he must either derive from tradition, or fetch from some uncanonical author of those times, there being no mention of their names in *Moses* his relation of that matter."

As I have said so much about this text, I am induced to take notice of some other like things in this epistle.

Says *St. Jude* ver. 8. and 9. *Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, de-*

Z 4

spise

(*i*) Qui autem totum librum debere sequi eum qui libri parte usus sit, videntur mihi et apocryphum *Enochi*, de quo *Apostolus Judas* in epistola sua testimonium posuit, inter *Ecclesiae* scripturas recipere, et multa alia, quae *Apostolus Paulus* de reconditis est loquutus. Possumus enim hoc argumento dicere: Quia apud *Athenienses* ignotum Deum colere se dixit, quem illi in arâ annotaverant, debere *Paulum* et cetera, quae in arâ scripta fuerant, sequi, et ea quae *Athenienses* faciebant facere, quia cum *Atheniensibus* in culturâ ignoti Dei ex parte consenserat. *Hieron. in Tit. T. 4. p. 421.*

(*k*) *Life of St. Jude, in English. p. 205.*

spise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, dared not [chose not] to bring against him a railing accusation, but said: The Lord rebuke thee.

Origen, in the third centurie, supposed, that (1) St. Jude might refer to a book, called the Assumption, or Ascension of Moses, though it was not a book of authority. But indeed, there is no good reason to think, that there was any such book extant in the time of St. Jude. It is more probable, that it was forged afterwards. Some therefore have imagined, that St. Jude took this passage from some more valuable Hebrew author, of whom however we have no knowledge.

But to me it is apparent, that St. Jude refers to the vision in Zach. iii. 1. . . 3. *And he shewed me Joshua the High-Priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord, [that is, the angel of the Lord, before mentioned,] said unto Satan: The Lord*

re-

(1) See in this work vol. iii. p. 271. a citation from Origen's books of Principles.

rebuke thee. And what follows. The text of *St. Jude* is parallel with 2. Pet. ii. 11. *Whereas angels, which are greater in power, bring not railing accusation before the Lord.* Here also is a plain reference to the vision in *Zacharie*. The thing itself, and that circumstance, *before the Lord*, answering to the expression in *Zacharie*, *standing before the Lord*, or *before the angel of the Lord*, put it, as seems to me, beyond question.

Campegius Vitringa (m) has some curious observations upon this text of *St. Jude*. Instead of *the body of Moses*, he would read *the body*

(m) Probabile nobis videtur, Judam scripsisse *κατὰ τὴν ἐνσάρκωσιν*, et hodiernam lectionem esse a manu imperitioris bibliographi, qui cum nihil in Scripturis memorabile legisset de corpore *Josuae*, sed contra ex Historia Sacra intellexisset, quid circa corpus *Mosis* singulare accidisset, nec interea de loco *Zachariae* cogitaret, *Josuae* nomen in illud *Mosis* commutavit. Sed quam certum est, Judam his verbis respexisse locum illum *Zachariae*, tam quoque certum est, non scripsisse, *Michaelem* disputasse cum *Diabolo* de corpore *Mosis*. . . Imo ex eadem ratione liquidissime patet, Judam, quae hic habet de corpore *Mosis*, non desumpsisse ex apocrypho aliquo Judaici ingenii, in quo hanc fabulam offendisset. Respexit Judas, ut jam dixi, ad locum *Zachariae*, et inde recte evicit, *Satanae*, potentissimi angeli, ab ipso principe angelorum *Michael*e in judicio in ipsum proferendo magnam habitam esse rationem : ac proin multo minus *potestates* et *glorias*, hoc est, potentissimos principes, licet malos, nobisque adversos, a nobis esse vilipendendos. *Campeg. Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. 4. cap. ix. n. 35. p. 1003. 1004.*

body of Joshua. That is ingenious. Nevertheless the common reading may be right, and may be explained very agreeably to the passage of *Zacharie*. For, according to an interpretation of that vision, formerly (n) taken from *Ephraim the Syrian*, *Joshua*, the High-Priest, there denotes the Jewish people. Whom St. Jude might call *the body of Moses*, as Christians are called the *body of Christ* by St. Paul. 1. Cor. xii. 20. 25. 27. Eph. i. 23. and iv. 12. 16. Col. i. 18.

Once more. St. Jude says ver. 6. *And the angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.* To which there is a parallel place in 2. Pet. ii. 4. The learned writer, above quoted, observes, that (o) neither here have these Apostles a reference to any Jewish apocryphal book : but to some text of Sacred Scripture, or of the Old Testament. But he then deferred shewing the place.

(n) See Vol. ix. p. 206.

(o) Quid Petrus et Judas per alterum illud exemplum angelorum, qui peccaverunt, principio et domicilio suo derelicto, intenderint, et ad quam partem Historiae Sacrae respexerint, (ad Historiam enim Sacram respexisse certum est,) nunc praetermitto, alia fortean occasione commodiore indicandum. *Id. ib. num. 35.*

place. Nor do I know, that these texts ever came in his way afterwards. I wish they had. For I also am much inclined to believe, that in all these places the Apostles referred to passages of the Old Testament.

This may assist us in forming a judgement concerning the opinion (*p*) of the Bishop of London, that *St. Jude* in his epistle, and *St. Peter* in the second chapter of his second epistle, copied, or imitated some Hebrew writer, who had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, or former times. Which indeed is ingenious and plausible. Nevertheless I think, such conjectures ought not to be presently received as certain. *St. Peter*, and *St. Jude*, and all the Christians in general of their time, had before them the scriptures of the Old Testament. Many of the cases referred to by these Apostles are evidently found there, such as *Cain*, *Korah*, *Balaam*, the people of *Sodom*. And why should not the other instances be taken thence likewise? If they are, I presume, the argument would be more forcible with all, than otherwise it would have been. Nor does the resemblance of stile in
St.

(*p*) See His Dissertation concerning the Authority of the second Epistle of *St. Peter*. And here in this Volume, p. 222.

St. Peter and *Jude* afford a conclusive argument, that they both borrowed from some one Jewish author. The similitude of the subject might produce a resemblance of stile. The design of *St. Peter* and *St. Jude* was to condemn some loose and erroneous Christians, and to caution others against them. When speaking of the same sort of persons, their stile, and figures of speech, would have a great agreement. And certainly I think, that the Apostles needed not any other assistance in confuting and exposing corrupt Christians, than their own inspiration, and an acquaintance with the ancient Scriptures of the Jewish Church.

*To whom
sent.*

III. We are now to consider, to whom this epistle was sent.

Witsius says, it (*q*) was writ to all Christians every where, but especially to Christians

(*q*) Epistola hæc Christianis quidem universim, et potissimum Hebræis scripta est. . . . Ii quibus scripta est epistola, illis designantur epithetis, quæ sine Gentium distinctione Christianis omnibus competunt: quamvis credibile sit, potissimum eos spectari, qui ex Israelitis in Christo crediderant. Iis enim sæpiusculæ argumentis utitur, quæ ex Judæorum libris, vel etiam traditionibus, desumpta sunt. Videnturque prorsus iidem esse cum illis, quos Petrus posteriore sua epistola compellat. *Wits. Comment. in ep. Jul. §. viii. p. 460.*

tians converted from Judaism: forasmuch as *St. Jude* refers to Jewish writings and traditions. Moreover he wrote to the same Christians, to whom *Peter* wrote, who were such as had been Jews. To the like purpose (*r*) *Estius*.

Hammond (*s*) says, the epistle was writ to the Jews scattered abroad, who believed the Christian Religion, to secure them against the errors of the Gnostics.

Dr. *Benson* (*t*) thinks, that *St. Jude* wrote to Jewish Christians, as his brother *James* had done, and most probably, to the Jews of the Western dispersion.

Let us now observe the inscription of the epistle in the writer's own words. *Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James,*
to

(*r*) Porro verisimile est, ad eosdem scriptam esse, ad quos scripsit B. Petrus, id est, ad eos praecipue, qui ex circumcissione crediderant.... Id ipsum indicant illa verba versus 5. *Commonere autem vos volo, scientes semel omnia.* Nam id aptissime Judaeis dicitur, a prima aetate imbutis cognitione historiae sacrae *Est. Argum. in Ep. Jud.*

(*s*) Videtur autem, sicut epistolae Jacobi et Petri, scripta fuisse ad Judaeos dispersionis, Christianam Religionem amplexos, ut confirmarentur contra pravas doctrinas Gnostico-rum, qui tunc temporis exorti sunt. *Hammond. Admonit. in ep. Judae. Ex versione Clerici.*

(*t*) *Preface to this ep. sect. ii. p. 446. See also his paraphrase of ver. 1.*

to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called. ver. 1. And ver. 3. Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation: it was needfull for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye should earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered unto the saints.

These expressions, as seems to me, lead us to think, that the epistle was designed for the use of all in general, who had embraced the Christian Religion. And if St. Jude writes to the same people, to whom St. Peter wrote, that is a farther argument for this supposition. For, that St. Peter wrote to all Christians in general, in the countreys named at the begining of his first epistle, was shewn (*u*) formerly.

*The Time,
when it
was writ.*

IV. We now come to the last point, the time of writing this epistle. Here I shall observe the opinions of severall.

Dr. Benson's opinion is, "that (*x*) this epistle was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, a few weeks, or months, after the second

(*u*) See before, p. 229. &c.

(*x*) Preface to the epistle of St. Jude. sect. iii. p. 448.

second epistle of *St. Peter* : forasmuch as the state of things, as represented in both these epistles, is very much the same."

Mill's conjecture is, that (y) this epistle was writ about the year of Christ 90. But, as he says, there are no clear evidences of the exact time, when it was writ.

Dodwell (z) whom *Cave* (a) follows, argues, that this epistle was writ soon after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the year 71. or 72. But the reasonings of those learned men are far from being conclusive.

Lenfant and *Beaufobre* were of opinion, that (b) this epistle may be placed with great probability between the year 70. and the year 75.

Witfius thinks, it (c) was writ, in this Apostle's old age, and in the last age of the Apostles

(y) Fortasse quidem circa annum vulgaris aerae xc. Verum de ipso praeciso tempore nihil habemus explorati. *Proleg. num.* 147.

(z) *Diff. Iren. i. num. xiv.*

(a) *H. E. in S. Juda.*

(b) On ne se trompera pas en plaçant cette épître entre les années 70. et 75. de l'ère Chrétienne. *Pref. sur l'épître de S. Jude.*

(c) Tempus scriptae hujus epistolae, uti ad postremam Apostolorum aetatem referendum est, quod colligitur ex ver. 17. ita ad extremam quoque Judae senectutem pertinet. &c. *Witf. in Jud. num. ix.*

Apostles of Christ, and when few, or perhaps none of them, were living, beside St. John.

To the like purpose (*d*) *Estius*.

Oecumenius in his note upon ver. 17. 18. of this epistle. Remember the words, which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time. . . . "Meaning (*e*), " says he, by *Peter* in his second epistle, and " by *Paul* in almost all his epistles. Hence " it is evident, that he wrote late, after the " decease of the Apostles."

If St. Jude referred here to St. Peter's second epistle, it must be allowed, that he had seen it, and wrote after St. Peter. Which indeed is the opinion of many. So *Oecumenius* appears to have thought. So also says (*f*) *Estius*. Dr. *Benson* expresseth himself after

(*d*) Ceterum Apostolis fuit posterior, non omnibus, sed plerisque jam ante vitâ defunctis: ut Petro, et Paulo, et Jacobo. Nam Joannes adhuc supererat. *Est. ad Jud. ver. 17.*

(*e*) . . . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ὑπὸ πέντε ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης ἐν πάσῃ σχεδὸν ἐπιστολῇ. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ δῆλον, ὅτι ἔσχατον μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν τὰς ἀποστόλους, ἔγραψε ταῦτα. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 633. D.*

(*f*) Convenit argumentum hujus epistolae cum iis, quae B. Petrus scribit in secunda epistola, praesertim capite 2. et initio tertii. Nam quae hic scribuntur, adeo cum illis similia sunt,

after this manner : “ that (g) it seems highly probable, that *St. Jude* had seen and read the second epistle of *St. Peter*. For there are found in *St. Jude* several similar passages, not only to those in the second chapter of the second of *St. Peter*, but also in the other parts of that epistle.”

Nevertheless I must still say, this appears to me doubtfull. For it seems very unlikely, that *St. Jude* should write so similar an epistle, if he had seen *St. Peter's*. In that case *St. Jude* would not have thought it needful for him to write at all. If he had formed a design of writing, and had met with an epistle of one of the Apostles, very suitable to his own thoughts and intentions, I think, he would have forbore to write.

Indeed the great agreement in subject and design between these two epistles affords a strong argument, that they were writ about the same time. As therefore I have placed the second epistle of *St. Peter* in the year 64. I am induced to place this epistle of *St. Jude*
in

sunt, ut hujus author S. Judas eam non solum legisse videatur, verum etiam, partim contrahendo, partim extendendo, partim iisdem vocibus et sententiis utendo, imitatus fuisset.
Esß. Argum. Vid. eund. ad ver. epistolae 17.

(g) *Preface to St. Jude. sect. iii.*

in the same year, or soon after, in 65. or 66. For there was exactly the same state of things in the Christian Church, or in some part of it, when both these epistles were writ.

I do not insist upon the expression, *in the last time*, which is in ver. 18. Some would understand thereby the last period of the Jewish state and constitution, immediatly preceding the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But I cannot interpret the phrase, *the last time*, in *Jude*, or *the last days* in *St. Peter* iii. 3. in so limited a sense. I think, that thereby must be meant the days of the Messiah, or the late ages of the world.

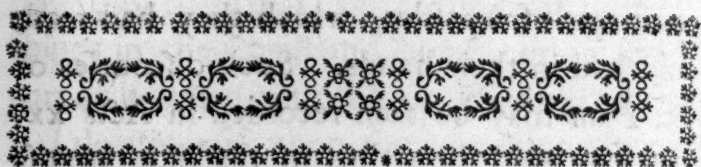
However, undoubtedly, that exhortation, ver. 17. and 18. *But, beloved, remember ye the words, which were spoken before by the Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ: that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time:* do imply, as *Witsius*, and *Estius*, observe, that it was then the last age of the Apostles: when several of them had left the world, and few of them were still surviving. Which well suits the date, before mentioned, the year 64. or 65. or 66.

When *St. Jude* adviseth the Christians to recollect, *and be mindfull of the words of the Apostles of Christ*, he may intend their preaching,

ing, which these Christians had heard, or the writings of Apostles, which they had read, and had in their hands. Such discourses of *St. Paul* may be seen recorded in *Acts* xx. 29. 30. And he writes to the like purpose 1. *Tim.* iv. 1. . . 5. and 2. *Tim.* iii. and iv. They who suppose, that *St. Jude* had seen and read the second epistle of *St. Peter*, must think, that he refers also to 2. *Pet.* ch. iii. 1. . . 5.

There are some other expressions in this epistle, which may deserve to be here taken notice of by us. ver. 3. *It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that you should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.* and ver. 5. *I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this.* These expressions seem to imply, that now some considerable time had passed, since the whole scheme of the Christian Doctrine had been published to the world, and since the persons, to whom the Apostle is writing, were first instructed in it.

Upon the whole, as before said, this epistle might be writ in the year of Christ 64. or 65. or 66.

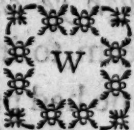


C H A P. XXII.

The Revelation of St. John.

I. *It's Genuinness shewn from Testimonie.* II. *from internal characters.* III. *It's Time.*

*It's Genu-
inness
shewn from
Testimonie.*

I.  E are now come to the last book of the New Testament, the Revelation: about which there have been different sentiments among Christians, many receiving it as the writing of *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, others ascribing it to *John* a Presbyter, others to *Cerinthus*, and some rejecting it, without knowing to whom it should be ascribed.

I shall therefore here rehearse the testimonie of ancient Christians, as it ariseth in several ages.

It

It is probable, that *Hermas* had read the book of the Revelation, and imitated it. He has many things resembling it. Vol. i. p. 135. . . . 141. It is referred to by the Martyrs at *Lyons*. p. 341. There is reason to think, it was received by *Papias*. p. 238. 239. 251. . . . 253. *Justin Martyr*, about the year 140. was acquainted with this book, and received it, as writ by the Apostle *John*. For in his Dialogue with *Trypho* he expressly says: "And a man from among us, by name *John*, one of the Apostles of Christ, in the revelation made to him, has prophesied, that the believers in our Christ shall live a thousand years in *Jerusalem*, and after that shall be the general, and, in a word, the eternal resurrection and judgement of all together." p. 278. 279. To this very passage we suppose *Eusebius* to refer in his Ecclesiastical Historie, when giving an account of *Justin's* works, he observes to this purpose: "He also mentions the Revelation of *John*, expressly calling it the Apostle's." See the same volume. p. 278. note (a). Among the works of *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, one of the seven churches of *Asia*, about the year 177. *Eusebius* mentions one, entitled, "Of the Revelation of *John*." p. 328. 329.

It is very probable, that *Melito* ascribed this book to the Apostle of that name, and esteemed it a book of canonical authority. *Irenaeus*, Bishop of *Lyons* in *Gaul*, about 178. who in his younger days was acquainted with *Polycarp*, often quotes this book, "as the Revelation of *John*, the disciple of the Lord." p. 378. And in one place he says: "It was seen not long ago, but almost in our age, at the end of the reign of *Domitian*." p. 379. And see p. 348.

Theophilus was Bishop of *Antioch* about 181. *Eusebius* speaking of a work of his against the heresie of *Hermogenes*, says, "he therein made use of testimonies, or quoted passages, from *John's* Apocalypse." Vol. ii. p. 427. The book of the Revelation is several times quoted by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who flourished about 194. and once in this manner: "Such an one, though here on earth he is not honored with the first seat, shall sit upon the four and twenty thrones judging the people, as *John* says in the Revelation." p. 515. *Tertullian*, about the year 200. often quotes the Revelation, and supposeth it to have been writ by St. *John*, the same, who wrote the first epistle of *John*,
uni-

universally received. p. 621. Again: "The Apostle *John* in the Apocalypse describes a sharp two edged sword coming out of the mouth of God." p. 622. He also says: "We have churches, that are disciples of *John*. For though *Marcion* rejects the Revelation, the succession of Bishops, traced to the original, will assure us, that *John* is the author." p. 622. By *John*, undoubtedly, meaning the Apostle.

From *Eusebius* we learn, that *Apollonius*, who wrote against the *Montanists* about the year 211. quoted the Revelation. Vol. iii. p. 16. By *Caius*, about the year 212. it was ascribed to *Cerinthus*. p. 32. . . . 35. It was received by *Hippolytus*, about the year 220. p. 110. . . . 112. and by *Origen* about 230. p. 236. 241. It is often quoted by him. He seems not to have had any doubt about its genuineness. In his Commentaries upon St. *John's* Gospel he speaks of it in this manner: "Therefore *John*, the son of *Zebedee*, says in the Revelation." p. 272. See also p. 273. 274. and 409.

Dionysius, Bishop of *Alexandria*, about the year 247. or somewhat later, wrote a book against the Millenarians, in which he allows the Revelation to be writ by *John*, a holy

and divinely inspired man. But he says, he cannot easily grant him to be the Apostle, the son of *Zebedee*, whose is the Gospel according to *John*, and the Catholic Epistle." Vol. iv. p. 672. He rather thinks it may be the work of *John*, an Elder, who also lived at *Ephesus*, in *Asia*, as well as the Apostle. p. 676. See likewise p. 727. 728. 733. Moreover, it appears from a conference, which *Dionysius* had with some Millenarians, that the Revelation was about the year 240. and before, received by *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, and by many others in that countrey. p. 584. 667. . . 669. and that it was in great reputation. p. 727. It was received by *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, about 248. and by the church of *Rome* in his time. p. 836. . . 838. and by divers Latin authors, whose historie is writ in the fourth volume of this work. As may be seen in the alphabetical Table of principal Matters, in the article of the Revelation.

The Revelation was received by *Novatus*, and his followers. Vol. v. p. 100. 103. and by divers other authors, whose historie is writ in that volume.

It is also probable, that it was received by the *Manicheans*. Vol. vi. p. 338.

It

It was received by *Laëtantius*. Vol. vii. 191. 192. and by the *Donatists*. p. 244. by the later *Arnobius*, about 460. p. 56. and by the *Arians*. p. 280.

In the time of *Eusebius*, in the former part of the fourth centurie, it was not received by all. And therefore it is reckoned by him among contradicted books. Vol. viii. 96. Nevertheless it was generally received. p. 111. and 159. *Eusebius* himself seems to have hesitated about it. For he says, "It is likely, that the revelation was seen by *John* the Elder, if not by *John* the Apostle." p. 160. 161. It may be reckoned probable, that the critical argument of *Dionysius*, of *Alexandria*, was of great weight with him, and others of that time. See p. 159. . . . 165. The Revelation was received by *Athanasius*. p. 227. 233. and by *Epiphanius*. p. 304. 310. But we also learn from him, that it was not received by all in his time. p. 311. 312. It is not in the catalogue of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, about 348. and seems, not to have been received by him. p. 270. 274. It is also wanting in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, about 363. p. 292. Nevertheless I do not think, it can be thence concluded, that this book was rejected by the
Bishops

Bishops of that Council. Their design seems to have been to mention by name those books only, which should be publicly read. And they might be of opinion, that upon the account of it's obscurity, it should not be publicly read, though it was of sacred authority. And some may be of opinion, that this observation should likewise be applied to *Cyril's* catalogue just taken notice of.

The Revelation is not in *Gregorie Nazianzen's* catalogue. Vol. ix. 133. Nevertheless it seems to have been received by him. p. 134.... 136. It is in the catalogue of *Amphilochius*. But he says, it was not received by all. p. 148. It is also omitted in *Ebedjesu's* catalogue of the books of Scripture, received by the *Syrians*. p. 218. Nor is it in the ancient *Syriac* version. p. 222.

It was received by *Jerome*. Vol. x. p. 77. 80. 100. 109. But he says, it was rejected by the Greek Christians. p. 123. It was received by *Rufin*. p. 187. by the third Council of *Carthage* in 397. p. 194. and by *Augustin*. p. 211. 257. But it was not received by all in his time. p. 252. It is never quoted by *Chrysostom*, and, probably, was not received by him. p. 340.

It is in the catalogue of *Dionysius*, called the *Areopagite*, about 490. Vol. xi. p. 219. 220. It is in the *Alexandrian Manuscript*. p. 240. . . . 244. It was received by *Sulpicius Severus*, about 401. p. 11. 12. and by *J. Damascen.* p. 393. and by *Oecumenius*. p. 415. 416. and by many other authors, whose historie is writ in the eleventh volume. *Andrew*, Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, at the end of the fifth centurie. p. 227. and *Arethas*, Bishop of the same place in the sixth centurie, wrote commentaries upon it. p. 288. But it was not received by *Severian*, Bishop of *Gabala*. p. 5. 6. nor, as it seems, by *Theodoret*. p. 89. . . 91.

Upon the whole it appears, that this book has been generally received in all ages: though some have doubted of it, or rejected it, particularly, the *Syrians*, and some other Christians in the East. However, for more particulars, see *St. John*, and *the Revelation*, in the alphabetical Table, which is in the xii. volume of this work.

It may not be improper for me here to remind my readers of the sentiments of divers learned moderns, concerning this book, which were put together in Vol. iv. p. 721. 733. 734. after having largely represented the

the criticisms of *Caius*, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, in the third centurie upon the stile of this book, and of the other writings ascribed to St. *John*. Where also is proposed this observation p. 733. "It may be questioned, whether their exceptions, founded in the difference of stile, and such like things, or any other criticisms whatever, can be sufficient to create a doubt concerning the author of this book : which was owned for a writing of *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, before the times of *Dionysius* and *Caius*, and, so far as we know, before the most early of those, who disputed it's genuinenesse."

from internal Characters.

II. Having thus represented the external evidence of the genuinenesse of the book of the Revelation, or of it's being writ by St. *John*, I should proceed to consider the internal evidence. But I need not enlarge here, because the objections taken from the stile, and some other particulars, were stated, and considered, in the fourth volume, in the article of *Dionysius*, above named, Bishop of *Alexandria*.

I now intend therefore only to take notice of a few things, of principal note, which
learned

learned men insist upon, as arguments, that the Revelation has the same author with the Gospel, and Epistles, that go under the name of the Apostle and Evangelist *John*.

I. Ch. i. ver. 1. *The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things, which must shortly come to pass. And he sent, and signified it by his angel, unto his servant John.*

Hence it is argued, that (a) *John* styles himself the *servant of Christ*, in a sense not common to all believers, but peculiar to those, who are especially employed by him. So *Paul*, and other Apostles, call themselves *servants of God, and of Christ*. Particularly Rom. i. 1. *Paul a servant of Jesus Christ*. James i. 1. *James a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ*. 2. Pet. i. 1. *Simon Peter, a servant, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ*. Jude v. 1. *Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ*. So *Moses* is called *the servant of God*. Numb. xii. 7. and Hebr. iii. 2. And in like manner divers of the Prophets. And in this

(a) . . . sed esse se inter notabiles Christi Jesu ministros, quos ad Ecclesiam suam docendam, regendam, et curandam adhibebat. . . . Hoc sensu Moses, David, Jesaias, et Prophetæ omnes sub oeconomia vetere, et Paulus, et alii Apostoli sub oeconomia nova vocantur servi Dei. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. 1.*

this very book. ch. x. 7. is the expression: *as he has declared unto his servants the Prophets.*

This observation may be of some weight for shewing, that the writer is an Apostle. But it is not decisive. And in the same verse, whence this argument is taken, the phrase is used in it's general sense. *Which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants.*

2. Ver. 2. *Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimonie of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.*

Some suppose, the writer herein to refer to the written Gospel of St. John, and to say, that he had already *bore testimonie concerning the word of God, and Jesus Christ.* But, as (b) formerly observed, these words may be understood of this very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer says here very properly, at the beginning, and by way of preface, that he had performed his office in this book, having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, which he had received from Jesus Christ.

For certain, if these words did clearly refer to a written Gospel, they would be decisive.

(b) See Vol. iv. p. 703.

cifive. But (c) they are allowed to be ambiguous, and other senses have been given of them. By some they have been understood to contain a declaration, that the writer had already bore witness to Jesus Christ before magistrates. Moreover, I think, that if St. *John* had intended to manifest himself in this introduction, he would have more plainly characterised himself in several parts of this book, than he has done.

This observation therefore appears to me to be of small moment for determining, who the writer is.

3. Farther, it is argued, in favour of the genuineness of this book, "that there are in it many instances of conformity, both of sentiment and expression, between the Revelation

(c) Ver. 2. *Qui testatus est sermonem Dei, et testimonium J. C. et quae vidit.*] Duplici modo haec accipi possunt, vel Joannem confessionem veritatis solennem coram tribunali Praefecti Asiae Romani edidisse, ob quam ipse missus fuerit in exilium: vel ipsum Evangelio a se edito solenne de Christo, ejusque dictis et gestis edidisse testimonium. Priore sensu vox μαρτυρεῖν scriptoribus Graecis posterioris temporis receptissima est, et manifeste etiam sumitur a Paulo. 1. Tim. vi. 13.... Veni igitur ultro in illam sententiam, quae haec Joannis verba refert ad Evangelium non praedicatum tantum a Joanne solenniter, sed et scriptis confirmatum.... Quae si sana sit hujus loci interpretatio, certò simul testabitur de illius auctore, Joanne Apostolo, ac proinde de libri hujus divinitate, et summa auctoritate. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2.*

tion and the uncontested writings of St. *John*."

Divers such coincidences, or instances of agreement, were taken notice of formerly, and remarks were made upon them. Vol. iv. p. 709. . . . 718. That which is at p. 716. appears to me as striking, as any. I shall therefore enlarge upon it here. Our Saviour says to his disciples. John xvi. 33. *Be of good cheer. I have overcome the world.* Christian firmness under trials is several times represented by *overcoming*, or *overcoming the world*, or *overcoming the wicked one*, in St. *John's* first epistle. ch. ii. 13. 14. iv. 4. v. 4. 5. And it is language peculiar to St. *John*, being in no other books of the New Testament. And our Lord says Rev. iii. 21. *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.* Compare ch. ii. 7. 11. 17. 26. iii. 5. 12. 21. and xxi. 7.

It's Time.

III. Concerning the time of writing this book I need not now say much, having before shewn, in (d) the historie of St. *John*, that

(d) See the first volume of this Supplement. p. 354. . . . 377.

that it is the general testimonie of ancient authors, that St. *John* was banished into (*e*) *Patmos*, in the time of *Domitian*, in the later part of his reign, and restored by his successor *Nerva*. But the book could not be published, till after St. *John's* release, and return to *Ephesus* in *Asia*.

As *Domitian* died in 96. and his persecution did not commence, till near the end of his reign, the Revelation seems to be fitly dated in the year 95. or 96.

Mill (*f*) placeth the Revelation in the year of Christ 96. and the last year of the Emperour *Domitian*. At first, he supposed, that the Revelation was writ in *Patmos*.

But

(*e*) Eodem ordine septem istae Asiae civitates enumerantur, quo ex Patmo insulâ adiri debebant. *Wetsten. in Apoc. i. 11. Tom. 2. p. 750.*

(*f*) Paucis post conscriptas has epistolas annis, exorta est Christianorum persecutio sub Domitiano. . . In insulâ vero Patmo, in quam relegatus erat Joannes, Domitiani ultimo, seu anno aerae vulgaris xcvi. . . facta est ipsi Revelatio: quam universam postea expresso Christi mandato scriptis consignavit. Scriptamque Domini ejusdem jussu misit ad septem ecclesias Asiae. Unde manifestum est, visionem non modo Joanni factam fuisse, sed etiam ab eo literis traditam in insula Patmo. . . Scriptam fuisse ex praedictis constat anno vulgaris aerae xcvi. seu Domitiani xvi. et quidem ad finem ejusdem imperii, inquit Irenaeus, seu tempore aestivo aerae vulg. xcvi. *Proleg. num. 157.*

But afterwards (g) he altered his mind, and thought, it was not writ untill after his return to *Ephesus* from *Patmos*. He builds upon the words of Rev. i. 9. If so, I apprehend, it might not be published before the year 97. or, at the soonest, near the end of the year 96.

Basnage (b) placeth the Revelation in the year of Christ 96.

Le Clerc (i) likewise, who readily admits the

(g) Subjiciemus hic verba Millii, quae in emendandis posuerat: *Hic sententiam, inquit, mutavimus. Constat enim ex ipsius Joannis verbis Apoc. i. 9. eum post reditum ad Ephesos hunc librum scripsisse. Kuffer. in notis num. 157. Proleg. p. 19.*

(b) *Vid. ann. 96. num. xii.*

(i) At nemo de auctoritate ejus dubitârat ante Caium, Romanum Presbyterum, qui circa finem ii. seculi vixit. Cum Cataphryges eo libro abuterentur . . . foetum hunc esse Apostoli negare, atque a Cerintho, praescripto ejus nomine, editum dicere maluit. At Justinus, et Irenaeus, eo antiquiores, et qui cum Joannis discipulis versati erant, Apostolo hoc opus tribuerunt. Similiter, cum medio seculo iii. Nepos, in Aegypto Episcopus, Chiliastarum deliria eodem libro tueretur, Dionysius Alexandrinus eadem de causa Joanni eum abjudicavit. Sed aliter senserant, quicumque Apocalypseos antea mentionem fecerant, excepto Caio, quos sequuti etiam posteriores omnes ad unum. . . Multo fide dignior Irenaeus, qui passim hunc librum, quasi Joannis Apostoli, ad testimonium vocat, et disertè lib. v. c. 30. *Neque enim ante multum tempus visa est, sed ferme nostra aetate, sub finem imperii Domitiani.* Quae ejus verba Graeca habet Eusebius. l. 5. c. 8. *J. Cleric. H. E. An. 96. num. v.*

the genuinneſſe of this book, ſpeaks of it at the ſame ſame year.

Mr. *Lowman* * ſuppoſes, St. *John* to have had his viſions in the iſle of *Patmos* in the year 95.

But Mr. *Wetſtein* (*k*) favors the opinion of thoſe, who have argued, that the Revelation was writ before the Jewiſh war. He moreover ſays, that (*l*) if the Revelation was writ before that war, it is likely, that the events of that time ſhould be foretold in it. To which I answer, that (*m*) though

B b 2

ſome

* See the Scheme and Order of the Prophecies in the Book of the Revelation, which is prefixed to his Paraphraſe.

(*k*) Nos quidem, omnibus expenſis, cum iis facimus, qui ſtatuunt, Apocalypſin ante bellum Judaicum fuiſſe ſcriptum. *Wetſt. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 746. m.*

(*l*) Quaestio eſt non levis momenti, cum vera Apocalypſeos interpretatio maximam partem inde pendeat. Si enim ſcripta eſt ante bellum Judaicum, et bella civilia in Italia; nullo modo probabile eſt, tantam rerum converſionem omnino praeteriri atque negligi potuiſſe. Sin autem poſt illos motus compoſitos ſcripta eſt, probabilior erit eorum ſententia, qui eventus in Apocalypſi praediſtos in ſeculorum ſequentium hiſtoria quaerendos exiſtimant. *Id. ib.*

(*m*) Lightfootus in genere cenſet, Apocalypſin hanc editam eſſe ante noviſſimum Hieroſolymorum excidium. Et certe ſi Joannes hanc Revelationem vere a Chriſto Jeſu accepiſſet ſub Claudio, magna cum ſpecie negari non poſſet doctiſſimis hiſ viris, quaedam ſigillorum viſa ad fata judaiſmi non adeo incommode applicari poſſe. Sed obſtant graves rationes,

some interpreters have applied some things in this book to those times, I cannot say, whether they have done it rightly, or not, because I do not understand the Revelation. But to me it seems, that though this book was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, there was no necessity, that it should be foretold here: because our blessed Lord had in his own preaching at divers times spoke very plainly, and intelligibly, concerning the calamities coming upon the Jewish People in general, and the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, in particular. And his plain predictions, and symbolical prefigurations of those events, were recorded by no less than three historians and Evangelists, before the war in *Judea* broke out.

Grotius, who, as (*n*) formerly seen, placeth this book in the reign of *Claudius*, was of opinion, that (*o*) the visions of this book were

tiones, quae nos in hanc sententiam ire vetant. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2. p. 7. Vid. et in cap. vi. ver. 1. 2. p. 101. . . . 105.*

(*n*) See this Supplement. Vol. i. p. 359. . . . 360.

(*o*) Et mitte septem ecclesiis. Nempe hujus visi descriptionem. Neque ad cetera hujus libri pertinet. Diversa visa diversis temporibus Joanni obtigere, ut et Prophetis aliis. *Grot. ad Apoc. cap. i. 11.*

Post

were seen at several times, and afterwards joyned together in one book : in like manner, as the visions and prophecies of some of the Prophets of the Old Testament.

Concerning this opinion it is not proper for me to dispute : though there appears not any foundation for it in the book itself, as (*p*) *Vitringa* has observed. But that the book of the Revelation, in it's present form, sent as an epistle to the seven churches of *Asia*. ch. i. ver. 4. was not composed, and and published before the reign of *Domitian*,

B b 3

ap-

Post absolutum Visum, monita salutaria continens, ad septem episcopos et ecclesias. . . . Sequuntur Visa alia, quae diversis temporibus Apostolo obtigere, et postea in unum volumen redacta sunt : quod et in prophetiis aliis evenit, saepe etiam non annotato temporis discrimine, sed dato intelligi ex iis quae loco quoque continentur. Pertinent autem haec Visa ad res Judaeorum usque ad finem capitis undecimi : deinde ad res Romanorum, usque ad finem capitis viceffimi : deinde ad statum florentissimum Ecclesiae Christianae ad finem usque. &c. *Eusdem Annot. ad cap. iv. init. Vid. et ejus Commentatio ad loca quaed. N. T. &c. citat. in hujus Supplementi volumine primo. p. 359. 360.*

(*p*) Et vero Grotius et Hammondus ipsi causam suam produnt, ubi posteriorem Apocalypseos partem sub Vespasiano Ephesi scriptam concedunt. Quis enim illos docuit, Visa Joannis in Apocalypsi hoc modo distinguere, et diversa illis et tam longe distita assignare tam tempora quam loca ? Nullum indicium, nulla significatio illius rei in ipsa Apocalypsi exstat. Contra dicitur Joannes, quae vidit, *vidisse in insula Patma. Vitr. ib. p. 11. 12.*

appears to me very probable from the general, and almost universally concurring testimonie of the ancients, and from some things in the book itself.

Now therefore I shall transcribe (*q*) a part of *Lenfant's* and *Beaufobre's* preface to the Revelation, at the same time referring to *Vitranga* (*r*) in the margin, who has many like thoughts.

Having

(*q*) *Preface sur l' Apoc. de S. Jean. p. 613. 614.*

(*r*) Primo dubium non est, quin si testimoniis Veterum res consicienda sit: communis antiquae Ecclesiae traditio, firmata auctoritate Irenaei, hic multum praeponderet testimonio Epiphani. Irenaeus enim temporibus Joannis Apostoli propior fuit, tanquam qui eodem adhuc seculo cum Joanne vixerit, et traditionem nobis retulit sua aetate communem, et omnibus notissimam.

Sed quod plus etiam momenti causae nostrae addit: Non nititur nostra haec sententia de tempore scriptae Apocalypsis sola traditione Veterum. Potest illa ex ipso hoc libro, etiam absque ulla traditione veteris Ecclesiae demonstrari. Quare secundo observari velim, ex ipsa Apocalypsi evidentissimas adduci posse probationes, ex quibus evincatur, hunc librum non utique sub Claudio, sed omnino post Claudii et Neronis tempora, quin imo sub Domitiano demum in lucem editum esse. . . . Quo tempore scripta est Apocalypsis, ecclesiae jam per Asiam inferiorem in celeberrimis locis non tantum erant fundatae et constabillatae, sed jamdudum fundatae et stabilitae fuisse supponuntur. Redarguuntur enim pleraeque a Domino gravium vitiorum et criminum, quae tractu longioris temporis ecclesias illas obrepserant. Ephesina jam reliquerat primam suam charitatem. Sardicensis dicebatur, nomine vivere,

sed

Having quoted *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and divers other ancients, placing *St. John's* banishment in *Patmos*, in the later part of the reign of *Domitian*, and saying, that he there saw the revelation, they say :
 “ To these uncontestable witnesses it is needless to add a long list of others, of all ages, and of the same sentiment: to whom the authority of *Epiphanius* is by no means comparable.” And then they go on: “ We must
 “ add to so constant a tradition other reasons,
 “ which farther shew, that the Revelation
 “ was not writ, till after *Claudius*, and *Nero*.
 “ It appears from the book itself, that there
 “ had been already churches for a considerable
 “ space of time in *Asia*: forasmuch as

B b 4

“ St.

sed vere mortua esse. Laodiceam magnus occupaverat tempor,
eratque aerumosa et miserabilis. Haec vero quam belle conveniunt temporibus Claudii! Ex ecclesiis enim septem, quae hic memorantur, in Actibus Apostolorum, aliarum mentio non est, quam Ephesinae et Laodiceae. Ephesina autem a Paulo Apostolo demum fundata est, secundum Annales Cestriensis, anno Claudii Imperatoris extremo. . . . Liqueat ex iisdem epistolis Joannis, illo tempore, quo edita est Apocalypsis, Gnosticorum haereses, quae dicuntur, in florentissimis Asiae ecclesiis altas jam egisse radices. Ad illas enim carnalium hominum doctrinas sub mysticis nominibus Bileamitarum et Nicolaitarum in variis locis alluditur. Illam haeresin praevidebat Petrus in Ecclesia brevi exorituram, quando epistolam suam scribebat posteriorem, non longe ante Hierosolymorum excidium.

“ St. *John* in the name of Christ reproves
 “ faults, that happen not but after a while.
 “ The church of *Ephesus* had left her first
 “ love. That of *Sardis* had a name to live,
 “ but was dead. The church of *Laodicea*
 “ was fallen into lukewarmness and indiffe-
 “ rence. But the church of *Ephesus*, for
 “ instance, was not founded by St. *Paul*, be-
 “ fore the last years of *Claudius*. When in
 “ 61. or 62. St. *Paul* wrote to them from
 “ *Rome*, instead of reproving their want of
 “ love, he commends their love and faith.
 “ ch. i. 15. 2. It appears from the Revela-
 “ tion, that the *Nicolaitans* made a sect, when
 “ this book was writ, since they are express-
 “ ly named : whereas they were only fore-
 “ told,

excidium. Judas, qui epistolam suam edidit, ut probabilis ra-
 tio suadet, post Hierosolymorum illud excidium, hoc semen
 in prima vidit herba. Sed quo tempore scripta est Apocalyp-
 sis non nata tantum, sed confirmata erat haec haeresis, et
 praecipuas Asiae ecclesias inquinaverat. Quare si Judas Apo-
 stolus epistolam suam scripsit sub Vespasiano : quis neget, A-
 pocalypsin editam esse sub Domitiano ? In ipsis illis Epistolis
 passim supponuntur afflictiones graviores, quas Ecclesia Christi
 religionis suae causa jam sustinebat, et sustinuerat : et inter
 illas supplicium capitale, quo confessores veritatis afficieban-
 tur. Sic Dominus ad Angelum ecclesiae Ephesinae : *Novi*
laborem tuum, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου, et tolerantiam in afflictioni-
 bus. Ad Angelum Smyrnenfis : *Novi opera tua*, et τὴν θλίψιν,
afflictionem, et paupertatem. Ad Angelum Pergamenae : *Nee*
abne-

" told, and described in general terms by St.
 " *Peter* in his second epistle, writ after the
 " year sixty, and in St. *Jude's* about the
 " time of the destruction of *Jerusalem* by
 " *Vespasian*. 3. It is evident from divers
 " places of the Revelation, that there had
 " been an open persecution in the provinces.
 " St. *John* himself had been banished into
 " *Patmos* for the testimonie of Jesus. The
 " church of *Ephesus*, or it's Bishop, is com-
 " mended for their *labour and patience*,
 " which seems to imply persecution. This
 " is still more manifest in the words directed
 " to the church of *Smyrna*. ch. ii. 9. *I know*
 " *thy works, and tribulation*. For the origi-
 " nal word always denotes persecution, in the
 " scrip-

abnegasti fidem meam, ne quidem in diebus, quibus Antipas, testis meus fidelis, ἀπεκράνθη, occisus est. Supponunt haec manifeste, tempore editae Apocalypsis Gentiles jam coepisse in Christianos saevire, et ipsam etiam mortem poenae loco illis quandoque solennibus judiciis irrogasse. Id vero hactenus non liquet factum esse imperante Claudio. Nero, postquam humanitatem exuisset, sanguinem Christianum primus bibit : Romae tamen, magis quam in provinciis. Post Neronem Domitianus, ultimis imperii sui, idem tentavit. Ad quas postremas Domitiani persecutiones in his locis haud dubie alluditur. Neronis enim illam persecutionem in provinciis Romani Imperii aequae ac Romae arsisse, nec liquet, nec probabile est. Ad Domitiani itaque persecutionem hic manifeste alluditur. Quod argumento est, Apocalypsin hanc sub ipso

“ scriptures of the New Testament : as it is
 “ also explained in the following verse. In
 “ the thirteenth verse of the same chapter is
 “ mention made of a Martyr, named *Anti-*
 “ *pas*, put to death at *Pergamus*. Though
 “ ancient ecclesiastical historie gives us no in-
 “ formation concerning this *Antipas*, it is ne-
 “ vertheless certain, that according to all the
 “ rules of language, what is here said, ought
 “ to be understood literally. . . . All that has
 “ been now observed concerning the perse-
 “ cution, of which mention is made in the
 “ first chapters of the Revelation, cannot re-
 “ late to the time of *Claudius*, who did not
 “ persecute the Christians, nor to the time of
 “ *Nero*, whose persecution did not reach
 “ the

ipso editam esse. Ejusdem hujus Domitianaei temporis ma-
 nifestum habemus characterem in Joanne. Dicit enim exerte,
se accepisse hanc revelationem a Domino Jesu, cum ob confessionem
veritatis evangelicae ageret in insula Patmo. Vocatque se Chri-
 stianorum, illo tempore afflictorum, socium in afflictione, regno,
et patiente expectatione Jesu Christi. Fuit igitur Joannes in ex-
 ilio, causâ veritatis relegatus in insulam Patmon. Id vero
 quo modo acciderit sub Claudio ? Illum enim in Christianos in
 provinciis aut exilio aut caede saevisse, nullibi legitur. . . . Do-
 mitiani igitur hic, et nullius alius Imperatoris character est.
 Nero enim Christianos capitali supplicio Romae affecit : sed Do-
 mitianus plures exilio, paucos morte punivit, ut certi testes
 sunt Dio et Eusebius, et pluribus prosequutus est Dodwellus.
Diff. xi. De Pauc. Mart. §. xvii. Quid cessamus itaque tam
 evi-

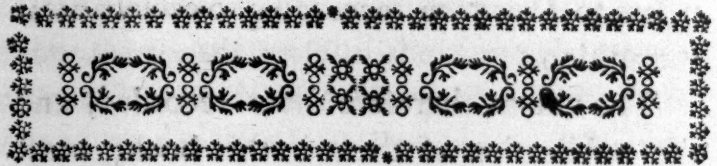
“ the provinces. And therefore it must re-
“ late to *Domitian*, according to ecclesiastical
“ tradition.”

The visions therefore here recorded, and
the publication of them in this book, must
be assigned, so far as I can see, to the years
of Christ 95. and 96. or 97.

evidentibus probationibus convicti fidem adhibere traditioni
Veterum apud Irenaeum? *Vitring. in Apoc. Cap. i. ver. 2. p.*
9.... 11.



CHAP.



C H A P. XXIII.

The Order of the Books of the New Testament.

- I. *Their Order in ancient Authors.*
- II. *General Observations upon their Order.*
- III. *The Order of the several Parts of the N. T.*
 1. *the Gospels.*
 2. *the Acts.*
 3. *St. Paul's Epistles in general.*
 4. *their order severally.*
 5. *Of placing them in the order of Time.*
 6. *The Order of the Catholic Epistles.*
 7. *The Revelation.*

Their Order in ancient Authors.

- I.  N shewing the order of the books of the New Testament, I begin with a passage of *Eusebius*, in a chapter, which is entitled "Concerning the

the (*a*) divine scriptures, which are universally received, and those which are not such."

"But, says he, it will be proper to enumerate here in a summarie way the (*b*) books of the New Testament, which have been already mentioned. And in the first place are to be ranked the sacred four Gospels. Then the book of the Acts of the Apostles. After that are to be reckoned the epistles of *Paul*. In the next place, that called the first epistle of *John*, and the [first] Epistle of *Peter*, are to be esteemed authentic. After these is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of *John*, about which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper season. Of the controverted, but yet well known, [or approved by the most, or many :] are that called the Epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second of *Peter*, and the second and third of *John* : whether they are written by the Evangelist, or by another of that name."

This passage, as my readers may well remember,

(*a*) Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογούμενων θεῶν γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων.
H. E. l. 3. cap. 25.

(*b*) . . . τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς.

member, was transcribed by us (c) formerly. And here the order is very observable: the four Gospels, the Acts, St. Paul's Epistles, the two Catholic Epistles of St. John, and St. Peter, which were universally received, and then the books that were controverted, that is, not received by all, though by many.

The same order seems to have been followed by that ancient writer *Irenaeus*. For in the third book of his works against heretics, where he is confuting the *Valentinians*, he (d) in several chapters argues from the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*. Then, in the twelfth chapter of that book, he largely quotes the book of the Acts. After which he considers the authority of the Apostle *Paul*, and quotes both him, and *Peter*.

In the Festal Epistle of *Athanasius* the books of the New Testament are enumerated in this order. "The (e) four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, and the Revelation." They stand exactly

(c) *Vol. viii. p. 96.*

(d) *Iren. l. 3. cap. ix. x. xi.*

(e) *See Vol. viii. p. 227.*

exactly in the same order, in (f) the Synopsis ascribed to him, though not composed till more than a hundred years after his time. The same is the order (g) of our *Alexandrian* manuscript. So likewise in (h) *Cyril of Jerusalem*: "the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, seven Catholic Epistles, and the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*." He omits the Revelation. The same is the order of (i) the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, omitting also the Revelation. So likewise in the (k) catalogue of *John Damascen*: "the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, and the Revelation." The same is the order of (l) *Leon- tius*. And in the *Syrian* catalogues as given by (m) *Ebedjesu*: "the four Gospels, the Acts, three Catholic Epistles, and the fourteen Epistles of *Paul*."

Rufin's order is "the (n) Gospels, the Acts, *Paul's* Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation." The same order is in
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| (f) <i>The same</i> , p. 245. 246. | (g) <i>Vol. xi.</i> p. 239. 340. |
| (h) <i>Vol. viii.</i> p. 270. 271. | (i) <i>Vol. viii.</i> p. 292. 293. |
| (k) <i>Vol. xi.</i> p. 393. | (l) <i>Ib.</i> p. 381. |
| (m) <i>Vol. ix.</i> p. 216. . . . 218. | (n) <i>Vol. x.</i> p. 186. 187. |

(o) the catalogue of the third Council of Carthage. In *Gregorie Nazianzen* (p) also “the four Gospels, the Acts, the fourteen Epistles of *Paul*, the Catholic Epistles.” The Revelation is wanting. The same order is in the catalogue of (q) *Amphilochius*, with the Revelation at the end, mentioned as doubtful. In the *Stichometrie* (r) also of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, about the year 806. “the four Gospels, the Acts, *Paul*’s fourteen Epistles, and the seven Catholic Epistles.”

That is the order of *Eusebius*, and, probably, of *Irenaeus* likewise, as before shewn, consequently, the most ancient. It is also the order, which is now generally received. And to me it appears to be the best.

In *Epiphanius* (s) the books of the New Testament are enumerated in this order: “the four sacred Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation.”

I imagine, that this must have been the order

(o) *Ib.* p. 193. 194. (p) *Vol.* ix. p. 133.

(q) *Vol.* ix. p. 147. 148. (r) *Vol.* xi. p. 249.

(s) *Haer.* 76. p. 941. cited *Vol.* viii. p. 303. 304.

der of *Euthalius*. For (t) he is supposed to have first published an edition of *Paul's Epistles*, and afterwards an edition of the *Acts*, and the *Catholic Epistles*, about the year 490. In his prologue to the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, addressed to *Athanasius* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, he says: "Having (u) formerly divided the *Epistles* of *Paul* into sections, I have now done the like in the book of the *Acts*, and the seven *Catholic Epistles*." Hence I am led to argue, that this was his order: *Paul's Epistles*, the *Acts*, and the *Catholic Epistles*.

Jerome's order, in his letter to *Paulinus*, is (x) "the four *Gospels*, *St. Paul's Epistles*, the *Acts*, the *Catholic Epistles*, and the *Revelation*." Which is very agreeable to the order of *Epiphanius*, and also of *Euthalius*, if I understand him aright. But in *Jerome's* work of the *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* the order is thus: "The (y) *Gospels*, the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, the seven
Ca-

(t) See *Vol. xi. p. 206*.

(u) Ἐναγκος τοίνυν, ὡς ἔφην, τὴν παύλου βίβλον ἀνεγνακῶς, αὐτίκα δὴτα, καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πράξεων, ἅμα τῇ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιδομάδι, πονέσας, ἀρτίως σοι πέπομφα. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 405.*

(x) Cited *Vol. x. p. 76. 77.* (y) *Ib. p. 80.*

Catholic Epistles, the fourteen Epistles of *Paul*, and the Revelation." In the letter to *Laeta* the order is, "the (z) Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of the Apostles."

Augustin varies. In his work of the Christian Doctrine the scriptures of the New Testament are rehearsed in this manner: "The (a) four books of the Gospels, fourteen Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, the seven Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles in one book, and the Revelation of *John* in one book." In another work: "The (b) Gospels, the Epistles of Apostles, [meaning *Paul's* Epistles, and the Catholic Epistles,] the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of *John*." In one of his works he quotes texts from the books of the New Testament in this order: first (c) from the Gospels, next from several of the Catholic Epistles, then from almost all the Epistles of *Paul*, after that from the Revelation, and lastly from the Acts of the Apostles.

In the catalogue of *Innocent* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, this order is observable: "the (d) four Gospels, *St. Paul's* fourteen Epistles,

(z) *Ib.* p. 159. (a) See in this work Vol. x. p. 211.

(b) *P.* 253. (c) *P.* 257. 258.

(d) *Vol.* xi. p. 39. 40.

Epistles, seven Catholic Epistles, the Acts, and the Revelation." *Isidore of Seville*, in his several works, has three or four catalogues of the books of the New Testament. In (*e*) all of them we see this order: "first the Gospels, then the Epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, then the Catholic Epistles, after them the Acts, and then the Revelation." There were according to him, two parts or divisions of the New Testament, one called the Gospels or the Evangelists, the other the Apostles or the Epistles. And in this last part the book of the Acts was placed. The same is the order in the Complexions or short Commentaries of *Cassiodorus*: they (*f*) are upon St. *Paul's* Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation.

The three writers, alleged in this last paragraph agree very much with *Augustin* in the two passages first cited from him in the preceding paragraph.

Chrysostom's order, in the Synopsis ascribed to him, as formerly observed, is very singular: "the (*g*) fourteen Epistles of the A-

C c 2

postle

(*e*) *Vol. xi. p. 373. 374.*(*f*) *See Vol. xi. p. 311.*(*g*) *Vol. x. p. 312. 313.*

postle *Paul*, the four Gospels, the book of the Acts, and three Catholic Epistles."

The catalogue of *Gelasius* also is particular for the place of the Revelation. For he enumerates the books in this order: "the (*b*) four Gospels, the Acts, St. *Paul's* fourteen Epistles, the Revelation, and the Catholic Epistles."

I suppose, I ought not to omit the order of the books in the 85. Apostolical Canon, as it is called, which is this. "The (*i*) four Gospels, *Paul's* fourteen Epistles, seven Catholic Epistles, two Epistles of *Clement*, the Constitutions, the Acts of the Apostles."

I shall transcribe nothing more of this kind. They who are desirous to see more examples, may consult the alphabetical table at the end of the twelfth volume, in that article, *The New Testament*. Here is enough to be a foundation for such remarks, as are proper to be made, relating to this point.

General
observations
upon
their Or-
der.

II. It is obvious to remark upon what we have now seen, that in the several ages of Christianity, and in several parts of the world, there has been some variety in the dis-

(*b*) Vol. xi. p. 225.

(*i*) Vol. viii. p. 402.

disposition of the books of the New Testament, in two particulars especially. For in some catalogues *St. Paul's* Epistles precede the Catholic Epistles, in others they follow them. And the book of the Acts is sometimes placed next after the Gospels, in other catalogues it follows all the Epistles.

Dr. *Mill*, who, in his *Prolegomena*, has an article concerning the order of the books of the New Testament, with regard to the first particular, the placing in divers catalogues the Catholic Epistles before *St. Paul's*, says, "that (*k*) possibly the Christians of those times supposed them to deserve precedence, because they were not directed to one church, or person only, as *St. Paul's* are, but to Christians in general, and many churches scattered over the world. Some

C c 3

might

(*k*) In epistolarum quidem dispositione variatum est. In antiquissimis quos habemus manuscriptis, etiam Alexandrino nostro Paulinis praemissae sunt Catholicae: eo quod hae Judaeis per orbem quaquaversum dispersis, adeoque pluribus ecclesiis inscriptae sunt: illae vero singulis sive ecclesiis, sive etiam hominibus. Ne dicam, quod in istâ dispositione rationem forsân habuerint dignitatis Apostolorum, a quibus scriptae sunt: ut nempe Apostoli Judaeorum, iique jam ab initio electi a Domino, ac cum eo per omne ministerii ipsius tempus versati, praeponerentur Paulo, Apostolo Gentium, ac cui novissime omnium visus erat. Postea autem Paulinae posita sunt ante Catholicas. *Mill. Proleg. num. 236.*

might also think the Catholic Epistles entitled to precedence, because they were writ by those, who were Apostles before *Paul*, and had accompanied our Lord in his personal ministrie here on earth."

Mill likewise argues, that this was the most ancient order, because it is that of the *Alexandrian*, and some other ancient manuscripts. But I do not think that to be full proof. For *Eusebius* is older, and his order is the same as ours. The same order is in the catalogues of *Rufin*, the Council of *Carthage*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, and divers others, very probably older than any manuscripts now in being. And in many other writers, likewise of great antiquity, *St. Paul's* Epistles precede the Catholic Epistles. Whereby I am induced to think, this must have been the most ancient order.

The reason, why the book of the Acts was sometimes placed after all the Epistles, some may think, was, because it was not so generally received as the Gospels, the thirteen Epistles of *Paul*, and some of the Catholic Epistles. *Mr. Wetstein* (1) hints at that

(1) Apud orthodoxos vero hic Actuum liber non videtur eodem loco fuisse habitus, quo reliqui N. T. libri. *Wetsten.* *N. T. Tom. 2. p. 455.*

that reason. But I rather think, that by some it was judged proper, that the Epistles of Apostles should immediatly follow the Gospels, containing the historie of our Lord himself: and that the historie of the Apostles, and of their preaching, writ by an apostolical man, should not precede, but rather follow their writings. For by *Eusebius*, as we have seen, the book of the Acts of the Apostles is reckoned among scriptures universally acknowledged by catholic Christians. It is so considered likewise by *(m)* *Origen*. And indeed, that this has been all along an universally acknowledged sacred book of the New Testament, appears from our collections from every age of christianity from the begining. See *Acts of the Apostles* in the alphabetical table of matters at the end of the twelfth volume.

Mr. *Wetstein* *(n)* argues from the 85. Apostolical Canon, where the Acts of the Apostles are mentioned last. To which I answer, *first*, that the age, when those Ca-

C c 4

nons

(m) See ch. 38. num. viii. Vol. iii. p. 245. . . . 246.

(n) In Can. Ap. 85. ordo librorum iste reperitur: iv. Evangelia, Epistolae Pauli xiv. Petri, Joannis, Jacobi, Judae, Clementis duae, Constitutiones, Acta. *Wetst. ubi supr. p.* 455.

nons were composed, is uncertain. And *secondly*, that order may have been there chosen out of a regard to the common rules of modestie. For it is thus: “the (*o*) Gospels, *Paul’s* Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, two Epistles of *Clement*, the Constitutions, and (*p*) the Acts of us the Apostles.” When a man took upon himself the character of the Apostles, and expressed himself in that manner, it was natural enough to reckon the book, which contained the historie of their own actions, last of all. Surely, it is trifling, to form an argument from that position in this canon. And Mr. *Wetstein* might have observed, that in many catalogues, undoubtedly ancient, the Acts immediately follow the Gospels: and that, not only in those catalogues, where *St. Paul’s* Epistles have the precedence before the Catholic Epistles, but in divers others likewise, where the Catholic Epistles precede.

*The Order
of the several
Parts
of the N.T.*

III. Having made these general observations, I now propose to consider distinctly the order of these several parts of the New Testament;

(*o*) See Vol. viii. p. 402.

(*p*) Καὶ πρόξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

stament: the Gospels, the Acts, St. Paul's Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation.

1. The order of the four Gospels has generally been this, *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*. This is their order in (q) *Irenaeus*, (r) *Origen*, (s) *Eusebius*, in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, and in his ten Canons, as represented in his letter to *Carpian*, (t) *Athanasius*, (u) the Council of *Laodicea*, (x) *Epiphanius*, (y) the 85. Apostolical Canon, (z) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, (a) *Amphilochius*, (b) the *Syrian catalogue*, (c) *Jerome*, (d) *Rufin*, (e) *Augustin*, (f) the *Alexandrian manuscript*, (g) the *Stichometrie of Nicéphorus*, (h) *Cosmas of Alexandria*, (i) *Junilius*, an African Bishop, (k) *Isidore of Seville*, (l) *Leontius*, of *Constantinople*. And in like manner in all authors and catalogues in

(q) *Vol. i. p. 353. 354.*

(s) *Vol. viii. p. 92.*

(u) *Vol. viii. p. 292.*

(y) *Ib. p. 402.*

(a) *Ib. p. 147.*

(c) *Vol. x. p. 76. 80. 83. 84.*

(e) *Ib. p. 211.*

(g) *Ib. p. 249.*

(i) *Ib. p. 297.*

(r) *Vol. iii. p. 235. and 244.*

(t) *Ib. p. 227. and see p. 246.*

(x) *Ib. p. 305. 306.*

(z) *Vol. ix. p. 133.*

(b) *Ib. p. 216. 217.*

(d) *Ib. p. 186.*

(f) *Vol. xi. p. 239. 240.*

(h) *Ib. p. 266. 267.*

(k) *Ib. p. 370.* (l) *Ib. p. 381.*

in general, distinctly taken notice of in the several volumes of this work.

Nevertheless in considering the testimonie of *Tertullian* we thought we saw reason to apprehend, that (*m*) in his time, in the *African* churches at least, the Gospels were disposed according to the quality of the writers: in the first place those two, which were writ by Apostles, then the other two, writ by Apostolical men. This was inferred from some expressions in his (*n*) works. But perhaps the argument is not conclusive. However the four Gospels are in the same order in (*o*) some *Latin* manuscripts, still in being, and also in (*p*) the *Cambridge* manuscript, which is *Greek* and *Latin*: *Matthew, John, Luke, Mark*. But by Mr. *Wetstein* we are assured, that (*q*) it is the only *Greek*

(*m*) See *Vol. ii. p. 633. 634.*

(*n*) Denique nobis fidem ex Apostolis Joannes et Mattheus insinuant: ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant, iisdem regulis exorfi. *Adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 2. p. 503. A. Vid. et ibid. cap. 5. p. 505. C. D.*

(*o*) *Vid. Joseph. Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinae Versionis Antiquae.*

(*p*) *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num. 1269.*

(*q*) Vidit tamen, nisi admodum fallor, hunc ipsum Codicem Cantabrigiensem, qui unus et solus omnium Codicum Graece Scriptorum hunc ordinem servat. *Wetsten. Prolegom. p. 28.*

Greek manuscript, in which the Evangelists are so disposed. For certain the other order must have generally prevailed.

2. Concerning the Acts the question is, *The Acts* in which part of the New Testament it was generally placed by the ancients: whether in the Evangelicon, or the Apostolicon. And undoubtedly, by those who mention it after St. *Paul's* Epistles, or after all the Epistles of the Apostles, it was placed in the later part. But, as we have seen, it is often mentioned by ancient writers next after the four Gospels. Was it then reckoned a part of the Evangelicon, or of the Apostolicon? From some passages of *Tertullian* it was formerly argued by us, that (r) the book of the Acts was placed in the second part of the New Testament, and at the beginning of it. I would now add, that I think, the same may be argued from *Irenaeus*, who (s) having alleged passages from the four Gospels, proceeds to the Acts, and considers what he allegeth thence as the doctrine, particularly, of the Apostles. And *Mill* supposeth, that (t) in the most ancient times the Acts were placed

(r) *Vol. ii. p. 631. 632.*

(s) *Vid. Iren. contr. Haer. l. 3. cap. xi fin. et cap. xii in.*

(t) *Primo loco posita sunt Acta Apostolorum. . . . Subsecutae*

placed with the Epistles, but before them, as the first book of that part. However, it is observable, that the *Cambridge* manuscript has the Acts of the Apostles, though it has not the Epistles. But then *Mill* says, that (*u*) volume once had the Epistles, as well as the Gospels. And therefore, probably, the book of the Acts stood at the head of that part, which contained the Epistles. And for certain, I think, it best that the historical books of the New Testament should appear together. Accordingly, as we have seen, the Acts do in many ancient catalogues immediately follow the Gospels. And I wish, that Mr. *Wetstein* had followed that order, which now prevails, and that he had not placed the Acts of the Apostles, as he has done, at the head of the Catholic Epistles, and after the Epistles of St. Paul.

3. In

cutae sunt Epistolae indubitato Apostolicae, quas corrogare undique liceret. *Proleg. num. 195.*

(*u*) Marci Evangelio suffixa est etiam notula, significans, post illud proxime poni librum Actuum. Verum haec est scribae recentioris. Sequens enim folium, quod prima facie duodecim postremos versus epistolae tertiae D. Joannis exhibet, alterâ primam partem capitis primi Actorum, clare indicat Exemplar hoc jam olim, praeter Evangelia et Acta, complexum fuisse Catholicas saltem Epistolas. *Mill. Proleg. num. 1270.*

3. In the catalogues lately alleged, we have seen *St. Paul's* Epistles sometimes preceding the Catholic Epistles, at other times following them. Here the order, as seems to me, is of little consequence. But I rather prefer our present order, which places *St. Paul's* Epistles first: because, excepting only the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, all of them have been all along universally acknowledged: whereas among the seven Catholic Epistles there are but two, which have not been at some times contradicted books. Moreover *St. Paul's* Epistles immediatly follow the historical books in *Eusebius*. Whence I am willing to infer, that it is the most ancient order.

*St. Paul's
Epistles in
general.*

4. I must say some thing about the order of *St. Paul's* Epistles severally: our order is that of his thirteen Epistles, which have been universally acknowledged, and then the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, about which there had been doubts in the minds of many for a good while.

*Their Or-
der seve-
rally.*

Among the ancients there is some variety. To the *Romans*, the *Corinthians*, the *Galatians*, the *Ephefians*, the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, the *Thessalonians*, *Hebrews*, *Timothie*,
Titus,

398 *The Order of the Books of the N. T. Ch. XXIII.*

Titus, Philemon. So (x) in the Festal Epistle of *Athanasius*, and (y) in the Synopsis ascribed to him, and (z) in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, and (a) in the *Alexandrian* manuscript. In others may be found our present order, as (b) in the *iambic* poem of *Amphilochius*, the (c) *Syrian* catalogue in *Ebedjesu*, (d) *Jerome*, in his article of *St. Paul*, (e) *Augustin* in his work of the Christian Doctrine, (f) *Oecumenius*, and many others.

Epiphanius, observing how *Marcion* had disturbed the order of *St. Paul's* Epistles, says, that (g) in some editions of the New Testament, the epistle to the *Hebrews* was the fourteenth, in others the tenth, being placed before the two epistles to *Timothie*, and the epistles to *Titus*, and *Philemon* : and that (b) in all good copies the epistle to the *Romans* was the first, not that to the *Galatians*, as *Marcion* had disposed them.

The-

(x) See Vol. viii. p. 227.

(y) P. 245.

(z) P. 292. 293.

(a) Vol. xi. p. 240.

(b) Vol. ix. p. 147.

(c) Vol. ix. 217. 218.

(d) Vol. x. p. 112.

(e) Vol. x. p. 211.

(f) Vol. xi. p. 411.

(g) Haer. 42. p. 373. C.

(b) Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀντίγραφα τὰ σωὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ τὴν πρὸς ῥωμαίους ἔχουσι πρῶτην, οὐχ' ὡς σὺ μαρκίων τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας ἔταξας πρῶτην. H. 42. p. 373. D.

Theodoret (i) and *Chrysostom* (k) have particularly taken notice, that the epistle to the *Romans* was placed first, though it was not the first in the order of time.

Concerning the reason of that disposition of the epistle to the *Romans*, *Theodoret* observes, “ that it (l) had been placed first, as containing the most full and exact representation of the Christian doctrine in all its branches. But some say, it had been so placed out of respect to the city, to which it had been sent, as presiding over the whole world.”

I have sometimes thought, that first observation might be applied to all *St. Paul's* Epistles, as the ground and reason of their situation. For the first five Epistles, that to the *Romans*, the two the *Corinthians*, and the epistles to the *Galatians*, and the *Ephe-
sians*, are the largest of *St. Paul's* epistles. And all that follow are shorter, excepting the epistle to the *Hebrews*, which has been placed after those sent to churches, or last of all,

(i) *Vol. x. p. 85. 86.*

(k) *Vol. x. p. 331.*

(l) Προτετάχασι δὲ τὴν πρὸς ῥωμαίους, ὡς παντοδαπὴν ἔχουσαν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν δογμάτων ἀρίστην διὰ πλείονων διδάσκουσαν. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τιμῶντες. κ. λ. *Theod. Pr. in Ep. S. P. T. 3. p. 6.*

all, after those likewise, which were sent to particular persons, because it's genuinenesse was not universally allowed of.

But the other, the dignity of the cities and people, to whom the epistles were sent, has been more generally supposed to be the ground and reason of the order, in which they are placed. How this is represented by *Mill*, may appear in his own words, which (*m*) I place below.

I also shall shew this, as well as I can. Epistles to churches are placed first. Afterwards those to particular persons. The epistles to churches are placed very much according to the rank of the cities, or places, to which they were sent. The epistle to the *Romans* is placed first, because *Rome* was the chief city of the Roman Empire. The two epistles to the *Corinthians* come next, because

(*m*) In iis vero disponendis (excepta una ad Hebraeos, de qua mox,) spectata est omnino dignitas ecclesiarum et hominum, quibus missae sunt. Epistola ad ecclesias Galatiae, quae erat integra provincia, merito praecedebat illas, quae ad unam datae erant civitatem, Laodiceam, Philippos, Colossenses, Thessalonicam. His tamen praepondere visum est epistolas ad Romanos et Corinthios, ob eminentem harum urbium dignitatem, qua provinciam istam superare videbantur. Epistolas integris ecclesiis inscriptas sequuntur, quae ad singulos homines datae sunt. *Proleg. num. 237.*

because *Corinth* was a large, and polite, and renowned city. *Galatia* was a countrey, in which were several churches, and therefore the epistle to them might be placed before others, writ to one church only. Nevertheless the epistles to the *Romans* and the *Corinthians* have been preferred, as is supposed, upon account of the great eminence of those two cities. The epistle to the *Ephesians* follows next, because *Ephesus* was the chief city of *Asia*, strictly so called. Afterwards follow the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and the *Thessalonians*. But how to account for this order, according to the method we here observe, I do not well know. *Colosse* indeed might be reckoned a city of inferior rank, and *Philippi* was a Roman colonie. But *Thessalonica* was the chief city of *Macedonia*, in which *Philippi* stood. And if the epistles were disposed according to the dignity of places, it is not easie to conceive, why the two epistles to the *Thessalonians* were placed after those to the *Philippians*, and the *Colossians*. So that in this method, as seems to me, the order of the Epistles is made out in but a lame and imperfect manner. And there may be reason to apprehend, that the brevity of the two epistles

to the *Thessalonians*, especially of the second, procured them this situation : though they are the first written epistles of our Apostle, and indeed the first writ of all the sacred scriptures of the New Testament.

Among the epistles to particular persons, those to *Timothie* have the precedence, as he was a favorite disciple of *St. Paul*, and those epistles are the largest and fullest. The epistle to *Titus* comes next, as he was an Evangelist. And that to *Philemon* is last, as he was supposed by many to be only a private Christian. Undoubtedly *Titus* was a person of greater eminence, and in a higher station, than *Philemon*. Moreover, by many the design of that epistle was thought to be of no great importance.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews* is fitly enough placed after the rest, because for a while it was doubted of, as before said. I likewise think it to be the last written of all *St. Paul's* Epistles.

*Of placing
his Epistles
in the order
of Time.*

5. Some learned men, who have examined the chronologie of *St. Paul's* Epistles, have proposed, that they should be placed in our Bibles, according to the order of time. *Dr. Wall*, at the end of the preface to his *Critical Notes* upon the New Testament, has an argument to this purpose. But

But *first*, it will be difficult to alter the order, which has been so long established in all editions of the original Greek, and in all versions. *Secondly*, the order of their times has not been yet settled. Many, I suppose, are of opinion, that Dr. *Wall's* order is not right. Must the order be altered again and again, to suit every one's phansie? That would create a very troublesome and disagreeable confusion.

I think, that the knowledge of the order, in which St. *Paul's* Epistles were writ, must be very entertaining, and usefull. And I have done what is in my power to find it out. But I am far from desiring, that they should be placed, and bound up together, according to my calculations. Before an attempt of that kind is made, the order of time should be settled, and determined to the general satisfaction of all learned and inquisitive men. And judicious Christians, who have studied the chronological order of the writings of the New Testament, may have an advantage by it, though the books are continued in their present order.

6. I say nothing here concerning the order of the seven Catholic Epistles, because I have

The Catholic Epistles.

D d 2

spoken

spoken to it sufficiently in a (n) preceding chapter.

The Revelation.

7. Finally, the book of the Revelation is now placed the last of all, and has been generally so placed in former times, and very fitly, as (o) *Mill* says in his observations upon the order of the books of the New Testament, "it being prophetic of things to be hereafter fulfilled, and therefore of a different kind from the rest: and having also near the end that remarkable clause, ch. xxii. 18. 19. containing a caution against adding to, or taking from it. Which may be applied to all the books of Scripture." To which might be added, that there are not wanting divers reasons to think, it is the last written of all the books of the New Testament.

(n) See p. 6. . . . 8.

(o) Agmen vero Novi Foederis librorum claudit Apocalypsis. Quae cum circa diversum plane a reliquis versetur argumentum, atque minus apte inter Evangelia et Epistolas media fuisset interposita, commodissime in fine omnium collocata fuit: quoniam tanquam liber propheticus futura respicit adhuc implenda: ac denique insignem illam habet in calce clausulam de non addendo quidpiam isti prophetiae, vel ab ea detrahendo: quâ etiam ad omnes N. T. libros accommodatâ, canonem universum veluti obsignare, convenientissimum videbatur. *Mill. Proleg. num. 239.*



C H A P. XXIV.

That the Books of the New Testament, consisting of a Collection of sacred Writings, in two Parts, one called Gospel, or Gospels, or Evangelicon, the other Epistles, or Apostle, or Apostles, or Apostolicon, were early known, read, and made use of by Christians.

THAT the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of the New Testament, or divers of those Epistles, were soon well known, much read, and collected together, may be argued from internal marks and characters, and from testimonie.

I. Internal marks and characters are such as these.

1. It is obvious from the nature of the thing. Who composes and publishes any works, without desiring to have them perused? It is very likely therefore, that the authors of the books of the New Testament, who were at the pains of writing histories, or epistles, would take care, that they should be known. The same zeal that prompted any man to write, would induce him to provide for the publication. The importance of the subject would justify a concern to spread the work. All must allow, that there never were, and that there cannot be, any writings, containing more important facts and principles. To suppose, that any of these writers were indifferent about the success and acceptance of what they had composed, is very absurd and unreasonable.

2. All the writings, of which the New Testament consists, were addressed to some, who would set a great value on them, and would willingly recommend them to others. All the Epistles, and the Revelation, as is manifest, are sent to Christian societies, or
par-

particular persons. St. *Luke's* Gospel, and the Acts, were sent to the *most excellent*, or most noble *Theophilus*. St. *John* intended his Gospel for some, whom he had in his eye. As appears from ch. xx. 30. 31. and from xxi. 24. 25. And it is very likely, that St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark* also wrote for some, who would gladly receive, and highly value their books, and get them copied for the use and satisfaction of others.

3. In several of the books of the New Testament directions are given, which would tend to make them well known. St. *Paul* at the end of his first epistle to the *Thessalonians*, one of his first written epistles, enjoins, *that it should be read to all the holie brethren*. 1. *Theff.* v. 27. The same method, undoubtedly, was observed with regard to the second epistle, sent to the same *Thessalonians*, and writ not long after. Probably, the same practise obtained in all the Christian churches, to which St. *Paul* afterwards sent any epistle. And the Christian people of other churches, beside those who had letters sent to them, would be desirous to see the epistles of their great Apostle, by whom they had been converted, and would therefore get them transcribed for

their own use. At the end of the epistle to the *Colossians*, iv. 16. he directs: *And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye read the epistle from Laodicea:* meaning, probably, the epistle to the *Ephesians*, which was to come round to *Colosse* from *Ephesus*, by the way of *Laodicea*. The Apostle therefore was willing, and even desirous, that his epistles should be read by others, beside those to whom they were sent, for the sake of general edification. And can it be questioned, whether other Gentil churches in these parts, all which were of his own planting, would not thankfully embrace the encouragement hereby given them to look into his epistles, and to get them transcribed, and read in their assemblies also?

4. St. Peter writes to this purpose in his second epistle, which we may suppose to have been writ in the year 64. *And account, that the longsuffering of the Lord is salvation, even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him, has written unto you. As also in all his epistles, speaking of these things, in which there are some things hard to be understood. Which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do the other*

other scriptures, unto their own destruction.

2. Pet. iii. 15. 16.

Here are several things to be observed. *First*, *Peter* speaks of epistles of *Paul* sent to the same Christians, to whom himself was writing. *Secondly*, he speaks of other epistles of *Paul* : *As also in all his epistles*. *Thirdly*, *Peter* therefore had a knowledge of several epistles of *Paul*, sent to the Christians of those countreys, and likewise of divers others, which he intends in the phrase, *all his epistles*. *Fourthly*, the Christians, to whom *Peter* writes, were well acquainted with the epistles, which *Paul* had writ to them, and with the rest of his epistles, or divers of them. *Fifthly*, it is supposed, and implied, that all, or at least many of *Paul's* epistles, were well known, and much read. For *Peter* speaks of some, whom he calls, *unlearned, and unstable*, who wrested *Paul's* epistles, or some things in them, *to their own destruction*. And very probably there were other readers of the same epistles, who improved them to their edification, and salvation.

It seems to me, that what *Peter* says here, affords reason to think, that at the time of writing this epistle, *Paul's* epistles
(most,

(most, or all of them,) were well known among Christians, and that *Peter* had good evidence of it.

When *Peter* says: *as our beloved brother Paul has writ unto you*: some learned men, *Mill* (a) in particular, have supposed, that thereby *Peter* intended the epistle to the *Hebrews*. But I think without reason, as *Mr. Hallett* (b) has largely shewn. *St. Peter's* epistles are addressed to the strangers scattered throughout *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia*. It is not unlikely therefore, that *St. Peter* intends *Paul's* epistles to the *Galatians*, and the *Ephesians*, and the *Colossians*, all situated in those countreys: and likewise the two epistles to *Timothie*, who resided much at *Ephesus*, and must have received the epistles writ to him, when in that city, and the epistle to *Philemon*, who was of *Colosse*. And in the expression, *all his epistles*, some others must be intended, and included: such as the epistles to the *Thessalonians*, the *Corinthians*, *Romans*, *Philippians*, *Titus*: so many, however, as the Apostle *Peter* was then acquainted with.

Mill

(a) *Prolegom.* num. 86.

(b) See his *Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 21. &c.

Mill has observed passages in (c) the first epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and in (d) the epistle to the *Romans*, and in (e) that to the *Philippians* : in which are *some of those things hard to be understood*, to which *St. Peter* may be supposed to have an eye.

These marks and characters there are in the books of the New Testament, which may induce us to believe, that they were soon dispersed among Christians, and well known to them.

II. This is also manifest from testimonie.

I. The accounts, which we find in the ancients, concerning the occasions of the several Gospels, lead us to think, that they were soon spread abroad after they were writ. *Matthew* is said to have writ his Gospel at the request of the believers in *Judea* : and *Mark* his, at the desire of the Christians at *Rome*, for the assistance of their memories. When therefore those Gospels had been written, divers copies would be soon taken, that the ends, for which they had been writ, might be answered. The several defective and imperfect accounts, which had been published

(e) *Proleg. num. 5.* (d) *Ib. num. 28.*

(e) *Ib. num. 70.*

published of our Lord's words and works, induced St. *Luke* to write. And when his fuller and exacter account was published, it must have been attended to, and would be transcribed, and communicated to many. Before St. *John* wrote, he had seen the other three Gospels. And the Christians in *Asia*, where he resided, were acquainted with them. Therefore they were well known, and joyned together. And when his Gospel was writ, undoubtedly it was added to them, and they were all joyned together in one volume, for general use.

That the first three Gospels were well known in the world, before St. *John* wrote, is supposed by *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, who was well acquainted with the writings of Christians before his time. These are the words of that eminent man. Having spoken of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, he goes on: " And (f) " when *Mark* and *Luke* had published the " Gospels according to them, it is said, that " *John*, who all this while had preached by " word of mouth, was induced to write for " this reason. The three first written Gof- " pels being now delivered to all men, and " to

(f) See Vol. viii. p. 92.

“ to *John* himself, it is said, that he ap-
“ proved them.” And what follows. Be-
fore this last Evangelist wrote, the *other three*
Gospels had been delivered unto all men, and to
John. He therefore had seen them before,
and they were in the hands of many people.

What has been now said of the Gospels,
is applicable, in a great measure, to the Acts,
and the Epistles of the *New Testament* : as
may be perceived by all, without my en-
larging any farther.

2. *Ignatius*, who was honored with the
crown of martyrdom about the year 107.
does, in his epistles, use expressions, deno-
ting (g) two codes, or collections, one of
Gospels, the other of Epistles of Apostles.
Such volumes there were then, and may
have been some good while before.

I shall here remind my readers of a few
other like instances. In the epistle to *Di-*
ognetus, certainly very ancient, and by some
ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, are these expres-
sions : “ The (h) fear of the Lord is cele-
brated, and the grace of the Prophets is
known, the faith of the Gospel is established,
and

(g) See Vol. i. 177. 180. and 188. and likewise vol. xii.
p. 26. 28. and p. 33.

(h) See Vol. i. p. 294. or 296.

and the tradition of the Apostles is kept." By these last expressions denoting, as is reasonable to think, a volume of the Gospels, and another of epistles of Apostles. *Irenaeus* speaks of the *Evangelic* and *Apostolic writings* in a passage, which will be alleged presently. *Tertullian* speaks (*i*) of "the sayings of the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Apostles." And in another place says: "This (*k*) I perceive both in the Gospels, and the Apostles." I go no lower, my intention at present being only to allege a few writers of the earliest times.

3. As before shewn (*l*) from *Eusebius*, they who in the reign of *Trajan*, about the year 112. travelled abroad to teach the Christian Religion in remote countreys, "took with them the scriptures of the divine Gospels." Nor can there be any reason to doubt, that our Ecclesiastical Historian here speaks of the four Gospels, so well known in his own time.

4. By *Justin Martyr*, about the year 140.
in

(*i*) Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apostolorum? *De Orations* cap. 9. p. 152. *C. quoted Vol. ii. p. 629.*

(*k*) See *Vol. ii. p. 630. 631.*

(*l*) See *Vol. i. p. 232. and Vol. xii. p. 33. 34.*

in his account of the Christian worship, which is in his Apologie to the Emperour and Senate of *Rome*, the whole world was assured, that (*m*) the Gospels, which he calls *Memoirs of the Apostles, and their Companions*, were publicly read in the assemblies of Christians every Lord's-day.

Certainly, the Gospels were then well known, and had been so for some while before.

5. *Tatian*, who flourished some time before and after the year 170. composed a *Harmonie* of the four Gospels. We (*n*) have full assurance of it. Is not this sufficient evidence, that the Gospels were then, and had been for a good while, generally known, and in common use? And does it not also afford reason to believe, that it was then, and had been for some while, an established, or generally received opinion among Christians, that there were four, and no more than four authentic memoirs or histories of Jesus Christ?

6. I forbear to allege any thing from *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Irenaeus*, or *Tertullian*, for shewing the notoriety of the books of the
New

(*m*) See Vol. i. p. 268. 269. and Vol. xii. p. 35. 36.

(*n*) See Vol. i. p. 306. . . . 308. and ch. 36. Vol. iii. p. 114. &c. and Vol. xii. p. 37.

New Testament in early times, because I now insist only upon writers of the highest antiquity. But I shall take notice of some things, which we have in the accounts of the heresies of the second centurie.

However, that this argument may not be too prolix, I entirely pass by *Basilides*.

7. *Valentin* is placed by *Cave* (o) as flourishing about the year 120. By *Basnage* (p) he is placed at the year 124. By *Mill* (q) between 123. and 127. And by *Irenaeus* we are assured, "that (r) the *Valentinians* endeavored to support their opinions from texts of the Evangelic and Apostolic scriptures," or of the Gospels and Apostles, that is, both parts of the New Testament: "and that (s) they argued especially from the Gospel according to *John*."

And

(o) *Hist. Lit.* p. 50. (p) *Ann.* 124. num. vii.

(q) *Proleg.* num. 265.

(r) Καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν περῶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιῆσθαι. *Iren.* l. i. c. 3. n. 6. p. 17.

(s) Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes, ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum, ex ipso deteguntur, nihil recte dicentes. *Id.* l. 3. cap. xi. n. 7. p. 190.

And *Tertullian* allows, that (t) *Valentin* used the books of the New Testament entire, without altering them, as *Marcion* did.

Mr. *Wetstein* says, the (u) *Valentinians* rejected the Acts of the Apostles. And he thinks, this appears from *Irenaeus*. But to me it appears manifest from *Irenaeus*, that they received the Acts. For in his confutation of them, in his third book against Heresies, he (x) argues against them largely, first from the Gospels, then from the book of the Acts, and lastly from the epistles of Apostles. And *Massuet*, the learned Benedictin editor of *Irenaeus*, allows, that (y)

ac-

(t) Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio, quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machaera, non stilo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit: quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas, excogitavit. *De Praesc. Haer. cap. 38. p. 246.*

(u) Acta Apostolorum rejecerunt Valentiniani. Quod constat ex Irenaeo. *Haer. iii. 2. Wetsten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 455.*

(x) *Vid. Iren. contr. Haer. l. 3. cap. xi. xii.*

(y) At ipsi Valentino nihil simile usquam adscribit *Irenaeus*. Immo tum loco mox citato, tum lib. 1. cap. viii. et ix.

et

according to that ancient writer, the *Valentinians* did not reject any books of the New Testament.

Irenaeus, as we have just seen, says, that the *Valentinians* endeavored to support their opinions by the *Evangelic and Apostolic Scriptures*. The Acts were included in this second volume of the New Testament, according to the method of the ancient Christians.

8. *Heracleon*, a learned *Valentinian*, is supposed by (x) *Grabe* to have been contemporarie with his master, *Valentin*, and to have appeared about the year 123. However, he might continue a good while after that. *Basnage* (a) speaks of him at the year 125. And *Cave* (b) placeth him at 126. They who are so pleased, may recollect what was said of his age (c) formerly.

Heracleon seems to have writ commentaries upon several parts of the New Testament.

et alibi passim, satis significat, Valentinianos sibi coevos sic canonem scripturarum novo Evangelio auxisse, ut nihil quidquam, nullum librum integrum, nullam ejusdem partem, (quod Marcioni non semel exprobat,) ab eo abjecissent: sed vel parabolas Dominicas, vel dictiones Propheticas, aut sermones Apostolicos, ad hypothese[m] suam aptare conatos, calumniam intulisse Scripturis. *Massuet. Diff. i. num. ix. p. xvii.*

(x) *Spicil. T. i. p. 62. T. 2. p. 69. et 80.*

(a) *Ann. 125. num. iii.*

(b) *H. L. p. 53.*

(c) *Vol. ii. p. 539. note (F).*

ment. *Clement of Alexandria* having quoted the words of Matth. x. 32. or Luke xii. 8. and of Luke xii. 11. 12. says: "*Heracleon* (*d*) explaining this place has these very words." Which I need not transcribe at present, though it be a valuable passage. There is in *Clement* (*e*) another short passage of *Heracleon's* commentarie upon St. *Luke*.

Origen, in his commentarie upon St. *John's* Gospel, often quotes *Heracleon*. The passages of *Heracleon's* commentarie upon that Gospel, with *Origen's* remarks, are collected by (*f*) *Grabe*. And from him they have been placed by *Massuet* in his Appendix to *Irenaeus*. The passages of *Heracleon*, quoted by *Origen*, are above forty in number, and some of them long.

Heracleon's commentaries upon the Gospels of St. *Luke*, and St. *John*, are an early proof of the respect shewn to the books of the New Testament. And it may be reasonable to think, that others beside *Heracleon*, both catholics and hereties, published

E e 2

about

(*d*) Τῶτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον ἡρακλέων . . . κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν . . . *Strom.* l. 4. p. 502. *A.* . . . *D.*

(*e*) *Vid. Eclog. Proph. ap. Cl. Al. p. 804. D. et Grabe Spic. T. 2. p. 85.*

(*f*) *Spic. T. 2. p. 85. . . . 117.*

about the same time commentaries upon some of the books of the New Testament.

Origen (g) has at once given us *Heracleon's* observations upon Matt. viii. 12. and If. i. 2.

Heracleon likewise received *St. Paul*, and his writings. For (b) he quotes, as his, the begining of the twelfth chapter of the epistle to the *Romans*. Moreover *Origen* (i) has given us *Heracleon's* interpretation of 1. Cor. xv. 53. 54.

I might add here some other things. But this is sufficient to shew, that in the very early days of Christianity the books of the New Testament were well known, much used, and greatly respected.

9. *Marcion* about (k) the year 138. placed by some (l) sooner, in 127. or 130. had, and probably, in imitation of other Christians,

(g) *Origen. Comm. in Joan. T. 2. p. 256. C. Huet.*

(b) . . . καθ' ὃ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων, λογικὴν λατρίαν τὴν τοιαύτην θεοσέβειαν. *Ap. Orig. ib. p. 217. E. et Grabe Spic. p. 101.*

(i) *Ap. Orig. ib. p. 255. D. et Grabe. p. 110.*

(k) *Vid. Pagi Ann. 144. u. iii. et Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 389. not. (4.)*

(l) *Vid. Casu. H. L. p. 54. E. c. S. Basnag. ann. 131. iii. . . v. 133. iv. Mill. Prol. num. 306. 307.*

Christians, a (*m*) Gospel, and an Apostle, or an Evangelicon, and Apostolicon.

In the former, as is generally said, was (*n*) St. *Luke's* Gospel only, and that curtailed. But Mr. *Lampe* says, that (*o*) *Marcion* did not reject the other Gospels, though

E e 3

he

(*m*) *Adamant.* Ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δεῖξαι τὰυτα ἐπαγγέλλη; *Marc.* Ἀπὸ τῆς Ευαγγελίας καὶ τῆς Ἀποστόλης. *Dial. contr. Marcion.* *Scet.* 2. p. 54. *Basil.* 1674. p. 821. *D. T. i. Bened.* *Vid. et Epiph.* *H.* 42. n. ix.

(*n*) Et super haec, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens. *Iren.* *l.* 1. *cap.* 27. 2. *al. cap.* 29.

Nam ex iis Commentatoribus, quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* *l.* 4. *cap.* 2. p. 503. *Vid. et Epiph. Haer.* 42. n. ix.

(*o*) Verum hinc quoque plus elicitur, quam voluit Marcion. Non enim asserere Marcion ausus est, Evangelia, quae extra Lucam habemus, esse conficta et falso Evangelistis supposita. Nemo Patrum antiquiorum hujus criminis Marcionem accusavit. Id tantum voluit, Lucae Evangelium, ductu Pauli conscriptum, reliquis Evangelis praefendum esse. . . . Clarissima haec esse puto. Et quod praetensionem interpolationis attinet, hujus insigne statim cap. 7. [libr. 4. contr. Marc.] exemplum affertur: *Ceterum et loco et illuminationis opere secundum praedicationem occurrentibus Christo, jam cum Prophetam incipimus agnoscere, ostendentem in primo ingressu venisse se, non ut Legem et Prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potens adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion, ut additum erasit.* Cum enim haec verba Matthaei v. 17. inveniantur, hinc inferimus, Marcionem Evangelium Matthaei non simpliciter negasse, sed quaecunque erroribus ejus non patrocinebantur, pro lubitu erasisse. Atque ita proculdubio etiam cum reliquis Evangelistis egit. *Lampe Proleg. ad Joan. Evanz.* *l.* 2. *cap.* 1. n. iv. p. 136. 137.

he preferred St. Luke's. This he infers from a passage in *Tertullian*, which seems to shew, that *Marcion* did not reject St. *Matthew's* Gospel.

I shall add another from *Isidore of Pelusium*, where he says : " Take (*p*) the Gospel [or the Evangelicon] of *Marcion*, and " you will presently see at the very beginning " a proof of their impudence. For they " have left out our Lord's genealogie from " *David* and *Abraham*. And if you proceed " a little farther, you will see another instance of their wickednesse, in altering " our Lord's words. *I came not*, says he, " *to destroy the Law, or the Prophets*. But " they have made it thus ; *Think ye, that I " came to fulfill the Law, or the Prophets ? " I am come to destroy, not to fulfill.*" Matt. v. 17.

It might be also argued from the Dialogue

(*p*) Ἐν προείχεται ὁ τῆς μαρκιανῶς συνήγορος βλασφημία, τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὀνομαζόμενον εὐαγγελίου λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι, καὶ εὐρήσεις ἐνθὺς ἐν προοιμίῳ τὴν ἀτοπίαν. Αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν κατάρυσαν ἐπὶ χρεῖσιν ἀπὸ δαβὶδ καὶ ἀβραάμ γενεαλογίαν ἀπέτεμεν. Καὶ μικρὸν ὑπερὺν προῖαν ἄλλην ὀφείκει κακόνοισιν. Ἀμείψαντες γὰρ τὴν τῷ κυρίῳ φωνήν, Ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον, λέγοντες, καταλῦσαι, τὸν νόμον, ἢ τὰς προφητάς, ἐπόμισαν. Δοκεῖτε, ὅτι ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον, ἢ τὰς προφητάς ; Ἤλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πληρῶσαι. *Isid. Pel. l. i. ep. 371.*

logue against the *Marcionites*, that they used St. *Matthew's* Gospel. But I forbear to allege any places in particular.

So that it may be reckoned probable, that *Marcion* did not reject any of the four Gospels. But undoubtedly he made alterations in them, agreeable to his own particular opinions, under a pretense, that (*q*) they had been corrupted by some before his time.

Perhaps (*r*) *Marcion* filled up St. *Luke's* Gospel out of the rest, taking from them such things as suited his purpose. *Tertulian* says, that (*s*) his Gospel, or Evangelicon, had no title. That may have been the reason of it. And we can hence conclude, that in very ancient times, among the Ca-

E e 4

tho-

(*q*) *Vid. Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 4. cap. 4.*

(*r*) Occurrit primo loco Marcion et Marcionitae, qui corruerunt libros N. T. resectis omnibus iis, quae Judaicae religioni favere putabant, et contracto toto N. T. in duos codices, quorum priorem vocabant Evangelium, ex Lucâ maximam partem conflatum, et subinde ex reliquis Evangelistis integratum. *Weist. Proleg. N. T. Tom. i. p. 79.*

(*s*) Contra Marcion Evangelio, scilicet suo, nullum adscribit auctorem: quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adstringere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere. Et possem hic jam gradum figere, non agnoscendum contendens opus, quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam constantiam praeferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli, et professione debita auctoris. *Contr. Marc. l. 4. cap. 2.*

tholics, the four Gospels were entitled, and inscribed, with the names of the several Evangelists. Which (*t*) has been denied, or doubted of by some.

Marcion had also an Apostolicon. In this were ten Epistles only of St. *Paul*, and those diminished, at least some of them. Their order according to him, as we are informed by (*u*) *Epiphanius*, was this: the epistle to the *Galatians*, the first and second to the *Corinthians*, to the *Romans*, the first and second to the *Thessalonians*, to the *Ephesians*, the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, the *Philippians*.

He received not any other epistles of St. *Paul*. It is supposed likewise, that he rejected the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation. Whether he received the Acts of the Apostles, I cannot say certainly: though (*x*) some learned men think, he did not receive them. But then it should be observed by

(*t*) *Vid. Mill. Prol. num. 347.*

(*u*) *Haer. 42. num. ix. et alibi.*

(*x*) *Acta Apostolorum rejecerunt Marcionitae. . . ; Tertulianus adv. Marcionem lib. v. cap. 2. Si ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis, jam apparet. Weist. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 455.*

by us, that (y) the *Marcionite* Apostolicon was reckoned very defective by the catholic Christians.

And it may be inferred from the accounts, which we have in the best writers of the most early ages, that *Marcion* was the most arbitrarie, and most licentious of all the ancient heretics, in his judgement concerning the Scriptures that should be received, and in his manner of treating such as were received by him. So that his opinion can be no prejudice to the genuinnesse, or the notoriety of any of those books of the New Testament, which were received by the catholics, and indeed by most heretics likewise.

I shall place below (z) a remarkable passage of *Irenaeus*, where he says : "*Marcion*

(y) Προένευχε τὸ ἀποστολικὸν σε, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα περιεκ-
κομμένον ἐστὶ. *Dialog. adv. Marcion. sect. i. p. 8. Basil. p. 806.*
T. i. Bened.

(z) Unde et Marcion, et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas converſi sunt Scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epistolas Pauli decurtantes, haec sola legitima esse dicunt, quae ipsi minoraverunt. . . . Reliqui vero omnes falso scientiae nomine inflati Scripturas quidem consentunt, interpretationes vero convertunt. *Iren. adv. Haer. l. 3. cap. xii. n. 12. p. 198. b. Massuet.*

cion and his followers curtail the Scriptures with great assurance, rejecting some entirely, and diminishing the Gospel according to *Luke*, and the Epistles of *Paul*, affirming those parts of them alone to be genuine, which they have preserved. . . . All others, who are puffed up with the science falsely so called, receive the Scriptures, whilst they pervert them by wrong interpretations."

In another place he says, " that (a) *Marcion* alone had openly dared to curtail the Scriptures." And my readers can easily recollect, how (b) severely *Tertullian* censures *Marcion* (c) for altering the text of the Scriptures, *openly employing a knife*, as he says, *not a stile*, to render them agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

However, I think, here is full proof, that the books of the New Testament were well known in *Marcion's* time, and before him : and that they were collected together in two parts, or volumes, an *Evangelicon* and *Apostolicon*.

(a) Sed huic quidem, quoniam et solus manifeste ausus est circumcidere Scripturas, &c. *Iren*, l. i. cap. 27. n. 4. p. 106. al. cap. 29. *Vid. ib. num. 2.*

(b) See Vol. ii. p. 625.

(c) Marcion enim exerte et palam machaera, non stilo usus est : quoniam ad materiam suam caedem Scripturarum confecit. *De Praeser. Haer. cap. 38. p. 246, C.*

postolicon. He and other Christians had a Gospel and an Apostle. But theirs were fuller than his.

10. We might, perhaps, not unprofitably recollect here those (*d*) passages of *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, where he speaks of the scriptures of the New Testament: some of which were universally received, others were contradicted; divers of which last, nevertheless, were received by many. The universally received by the sounder part of Christians were the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of *Paul*, one of *Peter*, one of *John*. It may be reckoned not unlikely, that all these had been from ancient time inserted by most Christians in their two volumes of the Gospel and Apostle. And, probably, divers of the other books, called controverted, or contradicted, were joyned with the rest in the volumes of a good number of Christians.

III. There are some observations of Mr. *Henry Dodwell* concerning the late forming of the canon of the New Testament, which cannot

(*d*) See Vol. viii. p. 90. . . . 105.

cannot be easily overlooked, and seem to require some notice in this place.

1. He says, "that (*e*) the canon of the sacred books was not determined, nor what number of them should be of authority in points of faith, before the time of the Emperour *Trajan*, who began his reign in the year of Christ 98.

Answ. If hereby be meant all the books of our present canon, this may be true. But then it is a trifling proposition. For some of them were not writ, or have been supposed by many not to have been writ, till near the end of the first centurie. How then could they be sooner made a part of sacred scripture? or how could they be placed in the number of books, esteemed to be the rule of faith? But the first three Gospels, of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, and possibly the fourth likewise, St. *John's*, and many of the Epistles of the New Testament, were well known before the reign of
Tra-

(*e*) Atqui certe ante illam epocham, quam dixi, Trajani, nondum constitutus est librorum sacrorum canon, nec receptus aliquis in ecclesia catholica librorum certus numerus, quos deinde adhibere oportuerit in sacris fidei causis dijudicandis, nec rejecti haeticorum pseudepigraphi, monitive fideles, ut ab eorum usu deinde caverent. *Dodw, Diff. Iren. i. num. 39, in p. 67.*

Trajan, even as soon as they were writ. And wherever they were known, and by whom soever they were received, they were reckoned a part of the rule of faith.

2. The same learned man says likewise: “the (*f*) canonical scriptures of the New Testament lay hid in the cabinets of particular churches, and private persons, till the reign of *Trajan*, and perhaps till the reign of *Adrian*.”

But I presume, we have just now sufficiently shewn the falshood of this, and that the Gospels, and other books of the New Testament, were writ and published with a design to be read, and made use of, and that they were soon divulged abroad, and not purposely hid by any.

3. Farther, says Mr. *Dodwell*: “The (*g*) epistles of *Paul* were well known soon after

(*f*) Latitabant enim usque ad recentiora illa seu *Trajani*, seu etiam fortasse *Hadriani* tempora, in privatarum ecclesiarum, seu etiam hominum scriniis, scripta illa canonica, ne ad ecclesiae catholicae notitiam pervenirent. *Ibid. num. 38. p. 66.*

(*g*) Sequuntur Epistolae Paulinae, quas a prima usque scriptione celeberrimas fecere ipsius Apostoli tam crebrae peregrinationes, et nota ejus in omni epistola manus. . . . Proinde meminit eorum et *Petrus*, meminit *S. Clemens*, meminit *Ignatius*, et *Polycarpus*. *Ibid. num. 41. p. 73.*

That the Books of the N. T. Ch. XXIV.
after they were writ. His many travels, and
and the mark of his hand at the end of them,
occasioned this."

We readily acknowledge it. It is very true. We think also, that the Gospels, the Acts, and other books of the New Testament, were well known soon after they were writ: and that in a short space of time many copies were taken of them, and thus they were divulged abroad. The first three Gospels were well known to St. *John*, and to many others, before he wrote his Gospel. Which must have been writ before the end of the first centurie, and, probably, a good while before the end of it.

4. The same learned writer, speaking of the apostolical fathers, *Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp*, says, they (*b*) several times quote apocryphal books. And he so expresseth himself, as if he intended to affirm this of all of them.

To which I must answer, that so far as I am able to perceive, after a careful examination,

(*b*) Habemus hodieque horum temporum scriptores ecclesiasticos luculentissimos, Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum, . . . Sed et apocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quae certum est in hodiernis non haberi Evangeliiis. *Ib.* n. 39. p. 67.

nation, there are not any quotations of apocryphal books in any of the apostolical fathers. They who are desirous of farther satisfaction therein, are referred to their several chapters in the first volume of this work, and to (i) some additional observations in the Recapitulation, which is in the twelfth volume.

5. Once more. The same learned writer says, "that (k) before the reign of *Trajan* the pseudepigraphal books of heretics had not been rejected. Nor had the faithfull been cautioned, not to make use of them."

Which appears to me an observation of little, or no importance. If those pseudepigraphal books were not in being before the reign of *Trajan*, how should they be rejected before that time? That they were not sooner in being, has been (l) sufficiently shewn. They are the productions of heretics, who arose in the second centurie: who asserted two principles, had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and denied the real humanity of our Saviour. In that second centurie many pseudepigraphal Gospels, Acts, Travels,

(i) See Vol. xii. p. 33. and 158. &c.

(k) See before. p. 428. note (e).

(l) Vol. xii. p. 164. . . . 167.

Travels, or Circuits of Apostles were composed. Which were afterwards made use of by the *Manicheans*, the *Priscillianists*, and some others.

But those pseudepigraphal books of heretics never were joyned with the genuine writings of the Apostles and Evangelists. They were always distinguished from them, and were esteemed by all catholic Christians in general to be of little value, and no authority. As appears from our collections out of ancient authors, and particularly from the accounts given of those books by (*m*) the learned Bishop of *Cesarea*, at the beginning of the fourth centurie.

(*m*) See Vol. viii. p. 98, . . . 100. and Vol. xii. p. 158. . . 160.

CHAP.



C H A P. XXV.

*The Question considered, whether any
Sacred Books of the New Testament
have been lost.*

HERE is a question, which has
T been proposed by some learned
men: *Whether any sacred books of
the New Testament, or any epistles of Apostles
and Evangelists, writ by divine inspiration,
have been lost?* And some have taken the af-
firmative, particularly, (a) Mr. John Ens,
and

(a) Et certe, pace et incolumi amicitia dissentientium id dictum sit, affirmativa nobis eligi debere videtur sententia, et concedi, quod multi divini libri perierint. *Job. Ens Bibliotheca Sacra. cap. 4. §. iv. p. 19. Amst. 1710.*

Itaque hoc misso, inspiciamus et rite perpendamus, quid probationi inserviat, ad evincendum, quod Apostoli plura exararint scripta vere *θεβραεύσα* et divina, quam nunc exstant. *Id. ib. §. vi. p. 22.*

and (b) Mr. C. M. Pfaff, in a work, published by him in the early part of his life. Herman Witsius likewise (c) has argued on the same side in several of his works.

I. Here, in the first place, I observe, that some suppositions have been made, and propositions laid down by learned men, which may form a prejudice in favour of the affirmative side of the question, but afford no proof. Such things should not be advanced by fair disputants.

As *first*, that (d) the Apostles of Christ were ever readie to serve all the exigences of the Church. Which is very true. And yet it does not follow, that any epistles, or
other

(b) *Chr. Matth. Pfaffii Dissertatio Critica de genuinis Librorum N. T. Lectionibus.* p. 46. . . . 48. *Amst.* 1709.

(c) Coccejus asseveranter dicit, Judam præter hanc epistolam non scripsisse, neque necesse habuisse scribere, neque a Spiritu Sancto impulsus fuisse ut scriberet. Id mihi non videtur certum, imo nec probabile. Apostoli enim quum universalis Ecclesiae doctores et directores essent, et corpore ubique praesentes esse non possent, et frequenter sine dubio ab ecclesiis consulerentur, necesse habuerunt frequenter scribere. . . . Non autem magis opus fuit omnes Apostolorum epistolas superstites manere, quam omnes sermones Christi. Sufficiunt quos habemus, ad perfectum canonem. *Wits. Comment. in Ep. S. Jud. §. xii. p. 463. Vid. Id. De Vita Pauli Apostoli. sect. 7. n. xi. sect. 8. n. xxi. et sect. 12. n. xvi.*

(d) Prima observatio est, quod alacres et paratissimi fuerint Apostoli ad omnia conferenda, quae usui et utilitati Ecclesiae inservire poterant. *Ens ubi supra. §. xx. p. 35.*

other writings, were composed by them for the general use of Christians, beside those which we have. And, *secondly*, that (*e*) it is unlikely, that all the Apostles of Christ should have writ no more letters, than now remain: as it is also, that (*f*) *Paul* should have writ no more than fourteen epistles. These, and such like observations, though adopted by (*g*) *Witsius*, as well as some others, I choose to dismiss without a particular discussion, as they contain not any real argument.

F f 2

A man,

(*e*) Porro adtendamus, secundo, quod quatuordecim habemus epistolas a solo Paulo conscriptas, et judicet unusquisque, an sibi probabile videatur, Bartholomaeum, Thomam, Jacobum Alphaei, Andream, Philippum, et Simonem Zelotem, quorum nulla habemus scripta, ne unicam quidem ad Ecclesiae aedificationem epistolam scripisse, atque Jacobum et Judam unicam tantum, Petrum duas, et Johannem tres exarasse: quum Paulus toties scripserit. *Ens. ib. §. xxiii. p. 38.*

(*f*) Immo nec illud veritatis speciem habet, ipsum Paulum non plures quam quatuordecim epistolas scripisse. Quod tertio observari velim. *Id. §. xxv. p. 41.*

(*g*) Nullus equidem dubito, quin Apostoli omnes pro singulari sua diligentia frequentissimas literas ad ecclesias curae suae commissas dederint: quibus praesentes semper adesse non licebat, et quibus multa tamen identidem habebant inculcanda. *Wits. De Vita Pauli. sect. 7. num. xi. p. 98.*

Laudanda profecto Dei benignitas est, quod ex tot Paulinis epistolis, quae perierunt, hanc tamen, [*ad Philem.*] mole exiguam, et de re domestica agentem, superare voluerit. *Id. ib. sect. 12. num. xvi.*

A man, who thinks of our Lord's great character, and the unparalleled excellence of his discourses, and the great number of his miraculous works, and that he had twelve Apostles, and seventy other disciples, employed by him, all zealous for the honour of their Master, and the good of his people, might be disposed to say: Certainly, there were many Gospels, or authentic histories of his life, writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. And yet, if there is any credit to be given to ecclesiastical historie, when *John* was desired to write his Gospel, about the time of that event, or after it; there were brought to him no more than three Gospels, to be confirmed by him, or to have some additions made to them. One of which only had been writ by an Apostle, even *Matthew's*. And it is the concurrent testimonie of all Christian Antiquity, that there were but four Gospels, writ by Apostles, and Apostolical men. And yet we have no reason to say, that the true interest of mankind has not been duly consulted.

II. I observe, *secondly*: It is generally allowed by learned men, and by (b) Mr. *Ens*,

(b) *Ens ubi supra*. §. xxviii. p. 45.

Ens, and (i) *Witsius*, that the epistles to the *Theſſalonians* are among the firſt of *St. Paul's* epistles, that remain, or were written by him.

And I think, that the concluſion of the firſt epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* ſuggeſts a very probable argument, that it is the firſt epiſtle which was writ by him with divine and apoſtolical authority for the edification of Chriſtians. The words intended by me, are thoſe of 1. Theſſ. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle be read unto all the holie brethren.* This, as (k) was formerly obſerved, I take to be the firſt inſtance of enjoying the reading of a Chriſtian writing in their religious aſſemblies, as a part of their worſhip. Chriſtian people had before now, very probably, read in that manner the books of the Old Teſtament. *St. Paul*, who knew the fullneſſe of the apoſtolical inſpiration, aſſerts his authority, and requires, that the ſame reſpect ſhould be now ſhewn to his epiſtle, and that it ſhould be publicly read among them for their general edification.

F f 3

If

(i) At nobis de Paulinis Epistolis nunc est agendum : quarum quae ſuperſunt primas eſſe conſtat utramque ad Theſſalonicenſes, Corinthi, ut initio dixi, ſcriptas. *Ubi ſupra. ſect. 7. num. xii. p. 99.*

(k) See before p. 150. of the ſecond volume of this Supplement.

If any such thing had been done before, there would not have been occasion for so much earnestness, as is expressed in this direction. This epistle is supposed to have been writ in the year 52. consequently, not till near twenty years after our Lord's ascension. If this be the first epistle of *Paul*, writ with apostolical authority; there were no sacred writings of his of a more ancient date to be lost. And his other remaining epistles are as many, as could be reasonably expected.

III. There are many considerations, tending to satisfy us, that no sacred writings of the Apostles of Christ are lost.

1. The four Gospels, which we have, were writ (*l*) for the sake of those, who certainly would receive them with respect, keep them with care, and recommend them to others. And if any other such authentic histories of Jesus Christ had been writ by Apostles, or Apostolical Men, they would have been received, and preserved in the like manner, and would not have been lost,

2. We can perceive, from the testimonie of divers ancient Christian writers, that (*m*)
the

(*l*) See Vol. viii. p. 124. 125.

(*m*) See, particularly, Vol. i. p. 363. 364. Vol. ii. p. 589. Vol. x. p. 238. 239. 323. 326, Vol. xi. p. 382.

the book of the Acts, which we still have, was the only authentic historie of the preaching of the Apostles after our Lord's ascension, which they had in their hands, or had heard of. Consequently, there was no other such historie to be lost.

3. The Epistles of *Paul, James, Peter, John, Jude*, were sent to churches, people, or particular persons, who would shew them great regard, when received, and would carefully preserve them, and readily communicate them to others, that they might take copies of them, and make use of them, for their establishment in religion and virtue. If those Apostles had writ other epistles, and if other Apostles had sent epistles to churches planted by them, or to particular persons, their disciples, or Christian friends, the case would have been much the same. Those epistles would have been esteemed, preserved, and frequently copied, and could not easily have been lost.

4. Moreover, the Apostles, and Evangelists, who drew up any writings for the instruction, or confirmation of Christian people, must have been carefull of them. The same principle of zeal for the doctrine taught by them, and for the welfare of Christian

people, which induced them, amidst their many labours, fatigues, and difficulties, to compose any writings, would lead them to take due care, that they should answer the ends, for which they were composed. Proofs of such care we evidently discern in divers of the epistles of Apostles, which we have. A like care, probably, was taken of the rest, and would be taken of epistles writ by any other Apostles. They would be sent by fit messengers, and be faithfully delivered. And they might be accompanied with some proper directions, such as we find in several of St. Paul's epistles: as that in the first epistle to the *Thessalonians*, requiring it to be read to all the brethren: and that in the epistle to the *Colossians*. iv. 16. that it should be read first among themselves, and then sent to the church of the *Laodiceans*: and that they likewise should read the epistle, that would be brought to them from *Laodicea*.

All which considerations must induce us to think, that no sacred writings of Apostles, composed for the instruction and edification of Christian people, their friends and converts, could be easily lost.

IV. There are no sufficient reasons to believe,

lieve, that any sacred writings of the New Testament have been lost. Let us however see what they are. For divers difficulties have been thought of.

1. St. Paul says (*n*) 2. Theff. ii. 1. 2. *Now we beseech you, brethren, . . . that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.*

These words, as I apprehend, afford not any proof, that St. Paul wrote more epistles to the *Theſſalonians*, than those which we have. For a person, who had never writ one letter before, might use such expressions, if he had any ground to suspect, that some men were disposed to forge letters in his name.

2. 2. Theff. iii. 17. (*o*) *The salutation of Paul*

(*n*) Atqui hujus rei nullum fuisset periculum, nulla monendi necessitas, nisi varias acciperent Theſſalonicenses epistolas a Paulo missas. Qui enim unam ac alteram solummodo ad ecclesias scribebat epistolas, illius nomen falsae epistolae ad ecclesias datae non facile mentiri poterat. *J. Eus ubi supr. §. xxix. p. 46.*

(*o*) Illud idem iterum agnoscit Apostolus statim allegato cap. iii. 17. dato signo epistolis suis peculiari, quo nullae epistolae a se missae carent. . . . Se dicit *γράφειν*, scribere. Quod paucis admodum epistolis vix congruum videtur: praefertim quando dicit, se *ἑτὼ γράφειν*, ut salutatio propria manu sit signum ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ, in quacumque epistola. . . . Quid erat

Paul with my own hand. Which is the token in every epistle. So I write.

But I think, he might say this, though it were the very first epistle writ by him: provided he thought, that he should have occasion to write more, and had reason to suspect, that there were some men, who might be disposed to falsify his name. Nor does it follow, that he afterwards wrote any more epistles to the *Thessalonians*. However, he could not be certain, that he should not have occasion to write to them again. And he might judge it to be very likely, that he should write more letters, either to them, or to others. This declaration, then, was a proper mark, which might be of use to the *Thessalonians*, and to others, and a security against all impositions of that kind.

3. 2. Cor. x. 9. 10. 11. *That I may not seem, as if I would terrify you by letters. For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed, when we are present.*

Hence

erat periculi, quod datis epistolis committeretur fallacia, si nullas praeter, et post hasce duas ad illos daret epistolas? *Id. ib. §. xxx. p. 46. 47.*

Hence it is argued, that (*p*) the Apostle had before now writ more than one, even several letters, to the *Corinthians*.

To which I answer. It is very common to speak of one epistle in the plural number, as all know. And St. Paul might well write, as he here does, though he had as yet sent but one letter to those, to whom he is writing. And from so long a letter, as is the first to the *Corinthians*, men might form a good judgement concerning his manner of writing letters, though they had seen no other.

4. 1. Cor. v. 9. *I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators.*

Hence it is argued, that (*q*) St. Paul had writ an epistle to the *Corinthians*, before he wrote the first of those two, which we have. Consequently, here is proof of the losse of a sacred writing, which would have been canonical, if extant.

And it must be acknowledged, that
se-

(*p*) Cum duobus illis ex epist. ad Thessalonicenses locis conferam Pauli dictum ad Corinthios. 2. x. 9. 10. 11. . . . Quibus verbis Apostolus statuit, quod non unam epistolam, sed plures ad Corinthios scripserit. *Id. ibid. §. xxxiii. p. 49.*

(*q*) Inter illas est epistola quaedam . . . ad Corinthios scripta ante illam, quae nobis prima est, de qua Apostolus : Ἐγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, *scripsi vobis in epistola. 1. Cor. v. 9. Ens. ib. §. xxxiii. p. 51.*

several (r) learned men have concluded as much from this text. Others however see not here any such proof. And on this side have argued (s) *Whitby*, and (t) others. And I think, it is of no small weight, that several ancient writers understood the Apostle to say: *I have writ to you in this epistle*. So (u) *Theodoret*, (x) *Theophylact*, and (y) *Photius* in *Oecumenius*. They suppose, that the Apostle here refers to somewhat before said

(r) Ex quibus verbis hoc concludo, ante hanc ad Corinthios epistolam aliam existisse, ubi Paulus a conversatione cum fornicatoribus eos dehortatus fuerit. *C. M. Pfaff. ubi supr. p. 46.*

Hinc autem apparet, aliam ante hanc a Paulo scriptam fuisse epistolam ad Corinthios, quae post interciderit. *Estius in loc. Vid. et Grot. in loc. H. Wits. de Vit. Paul. Ap. sect. 8. n. xxi. Mill. Prolegom. n. 8.*

(s) See him upon the place.

(t) *Wolf. curae in loc. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 918. Ec.*

(u) 'Ουκ ἐν ἄλλῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ. Πρὸ βραχέων γὰρ ἔφη 'Ουκ οἶδατε, ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμην ἔλον τό φύραμα ζυμοῖ; *Theod. in loc.*

(x) 'Εν ποίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ; 'Εν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ. Επεὶ δὲ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀνωτέρω, ὅτι ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, τὸν πορνευκότα, ὡς δεδηλώται, ἀνιιττόμενος, δι' ἧς ἐδηλώτο τὸ μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις· ἴσως ὑπενόησαν αὐτοὶ ὅτι πάντων τῶν πόρνων, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑλλήσι χωρίζεσθαι δεῖ. Ἑρμηνεύει τοίνυν περὶ τοῦτων παρήγγειλε. *Theoph. in loc.*

(y) Πῶς ἔγραψεν; 'Εν οἷς λέγει, καὶ ἔχει μᾶλλον ἐπενθήσατε, κ. λ. . . Καὶ πάλιν ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην. κ. λ. . . Τοῖς πόρνοις τῷ κόσμῳ τίτε.] Ἰνα μὴ νομίσωσιν, ὀφείλει καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐλλήνων πόρνοις μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν ἀδύνατον τοῖς πόλιν οἰκῶσι, διορθῆται αὐτό, *Arndt. Oecum. in loc.*

said by him in this same epistle, and in this very chapter, ver. 2. or 6. 7.

And that hereby is meant this epistle, seems to me very evident. That interpretation suits the words. And there are divers other places, where the same phrase is, and must be so rendred. Rom. xvi. 22. *I Tertius, who wrote this epistle.* Ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. 1. Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.* ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις. And 1. Thess. iv. 6. *That no man go beyond, and defraud his brother in any matter: or in this matter.* μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονέκτειν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ. (A)

Fabricius says, the (x) words, *I have writ unto you*, may be understood as equivalent to, *I do write*. And it may be remembered, that (a) some while agoe I quoted

(A) I might refer to many other texts of Scripture, and to passages of other writers. Matt. xxvii. 8. ἕως τῆς σήμερον. xxviii. 15. . . . μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. . . . Apoc. i. 3. καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τὰς λόγους τῆς προφητείας. Id est, ταύτης προφητείας, quomodo accepit Latinus. *Grot. in loc.* So *Liban. ep.* 1174. p. 558. Ἐμελλε μὲν καὶ μὴ δόντος μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. κ. λ. Etiamfi ego has literas non scripsissem. . . . *Ep.* 1177. p. 559. Καὶ μὴν κακῆνο δῆλον, ὅτι μέζονος ἀπολάυσει τῆς παρὰ σὺ πρόνοιας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. post traditas has literas.

(x) Possunt etiam verba, ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, reddi, scribo vobis. &c. *Bib. Gr.* l. 4. cap. v. *Tom.* 3. p. 154.

(a) See *Vol.* xi. p. 182. See there likewise. p. 51.

ted an ancient writer, who gives this interpretation. "*I (b) have writ unto you, that is, I write.*" And intending, I think, somewhat to be afterwards said by the Apostle in this epistle. Which appears to me to be right. Many like instances might be alleged. I shall put in the margin some passages (*c*) from *A. Gellius*, where it is said: "*I have subjoyned the words of Varro: that is, I shall subjoyn them.*" In another place. "*I have transcribed the words of Plutarch.*" And in like manner often: when the words of an author had not yet been transcribed, but were to be transcribed soon after.

In *John* iv. 38. Our Lord says to the disciples: *I sent you to reap that, whereon ye have*

(*b*) *Scripti vobis.*] Pro scribo. Vel ideo praeteritum dicit, quia cum legeretur, tempus scribendi praeteritum esset. *Sedul. Comm. in loc. Ap. Bib. PP. Lugd. T. 6. p. 540. C.*

(*c*) Verba Varronis subjeci. *A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 2. cap. 20.*

Propterea verba Ateii Capitonis ex quinto Librorum, quos de Pontificio Jure composuit, scripsi. *Ib. l. 4. cap. 6.*

Verba ipsa Plutarchi, quoniam res inopinata est, subscripsi. *Ib. cap. 12.*

Ex quo libro plura verba adscriptimus, ut simul ibidem quid ipse inter res gestas et annales esse dixerit, ostenderemus. *Ib. l. 5. cap. 18.*

Ipsa autem verba Chrysippi, quantum valui memoriâ adscripsi. . . . In libro enim ~~scripsi~~ quarto dicit. . . . *Ib. l. 6. cap. 2.*

have bestowed no labour. Nevertheless the disciples had not yet been sent forth by him. But knowing what he designed to do, and also knowing beforehand what would be the circumstances of their mission, he says to them: "When I shall send you to preach the gospel, you will find the case to be as I now represent it."

In like manner St. *Paul* having in his mind the whole plan of the epistle, which he was writing, and considering some directions, which he should give in the remaining part of the epistle, says: *I have writ unto you.* If it be asked, where are those directions. I answer: I think, they are in the tenth chapter of this epistle, where the Apostle cautions against idolatry, and dangerous temptations to it, and against doing what might be understood to be religious communion with idols, and idolaters. These things, I apprehend, the Apostle then had in his mind.

What he says therefore here in ch. v. 9. 10. 11. is to this purpose: "I shall in this epistle deliver some cautions against a dangerous and offensive intimacy with idolaters. But when I do so, it is not my intention, to prohibit all civil commerce with
Gentil

Gentil people, who are fornicators, or covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters. For at that rate you could not live in the world. But here I am speaking of such as are professed Christians. *And I have now written unto you, that is, I now charge you, and require it of you: If any man, called a brother, a professed Christian, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or an extortioner, with such an one, no not to eat: that is, not to have any conversation with him.*" Compare 2. Theff. iii. 14. 15.

That appears to me the most probable account of this text. But if any hesitate about the reference to a place that follows in the remaining part of the epistle; I still hope, I may insist upon it, that ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, which we have rendred *in an epistle*, does, and must signify, *in this epistle*.

5. 2. Pet. iii. 15. 16. *And account, that the longsuffering of God is salvation: even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, has written unto you.*

Hence it is argued, that (d) St. Paul wrote
several

(d) S. Petrus 2. ep. iii. 15. 16. plures literas ad dispersos Hebraeos allegat, quae jam dudum periire. Neque enim, uti millius putavit f. x. col. 2. heic citatur epistola ad Hebrae-

several letters to the dispersed Jews, which are now lost. I answer, that this argument depends upon the supposition, that the epistles of St. *Peter* were sent to believing Jews. Which is far from being certain. It is more probable, as was (e) formerly shewn, that St. *Peter's* epistles were sent to believing Gentils in *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia,* and *Bitbunia*, or to all Christians in general in those countreys. To which Christians *Paul* had indeed sent several letters. To them were sent his epistles to the *Galatians*, the *Ephesians*, the *Colossians*. To which might be added his two epistles to *Timothie*, then residing at *Ephesus*, the chief city of *Asia*. To these, and other epistles of the Apostle *Paul*, St. *Peter* might refer. Nor can I see any reason at all to doubt, whether the epistles of *Paul* intended by St. *Peter* are not still in being.

6. 3. John. ver. 9. *I wrote unto the church.*
Hence (f) some have argued, that St. *John*
wrote

os, quae exstat. &c. *Pfaff. ubi supra. p. 47. Conf. Ens ubi supra. §. xxxvi. xxxvii. p. 53. 54.*

(e) See before. p. 229. &c.

(f) Eodem modo et literae S. Joannis, ad Ecclesiam, in qua Diotrophes ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων erat, scriptae, et 3. Joh. ver. 9. Memoratae, periêre. *Pfaff. ib. p. 47.*

wrote an epistle to the church, where *Diotrephes* affected to have pre-eminence, which is now lost.

Indeed this text has exercised the thoughts of many critics, as may be seen in *Wolfii Curae*. However the words may be translated thus: *I had writ*, or *I would have writ to the church*. This version has been approved by (g) some. And to me it appears very right. If this interpretation be admitted, there is no reason to conclude, that (b) any writing of *St. John* has been lost.

7. It is argued, that (i) *Polycarp*, writing to the *Philippians*, expresseth himself, as if he thought, *St. Paul* had writ to them more epistles than one.

To which it is easie to answer, that though the word be in the plural number, one epistle only

(g) See *Whitby upon the place*, and *Dr. Benson*. And see before. p. 301. note (x).

(b) "Some would, from hence, gather, that *St. John* wrote an epistle, which is now lost. But the primitive Christians were not so careless about preserving the apostolic writings. There is not the least hint among the antients, that there ever was such an epistle. And the Apostle's words, in this place, are fairly capable of another interpretation. . . ." *Dr. Benson upon the place*, p. 703.

(i) Memorat quoque Polycarpus in literis ad Philippenses, S. Paulum non unam sed plures ad eos ἐπιστολὰς absentem scripsisse. *Pfaff. ib.* p. 47. *Conf. Ens* p. 51. . . . 56.

only might be meant. *Secondly*, it is not improbable, that *Polycarp* intended the epistle to the *Philippians*, and also the two epistles of *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, who were in the same province of *Macedonia*, as was shewn (*k*) formerly. Indeed this objection is so obviated by what was said, when we largely considered the testimonie of *Polycarp* to the New Testament, that I think nothing more needs to be added here.

V. In treating this subject Mr. *Ens* could not help thinking of those passages of *Origen*, and *Eusebius*, where they speak of the Apostles not being solicitous to write many volumes. Which passages were taken notice of by us (*l*) long ago. He endeavors to evade the proper conclusion to be thence drawn. But he owns, that (*m*) the ancients

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had

(*k*) See Vol. i. p. 201. . . 203. or p. 204. 205.

(*l*) See Vol. iii. p. 235. 236. and Vol. viii. p. 91. 92.

(*m*) Fateor ingenue, vix concipi potest, unde tam cito tanta fuerit inter veteres ignorantia de eo, quod Apostoli multa scripserint, quam quidem illorum, et nostras pervenit ad manus. Fateor, vix concipi potest, ubi tam profunde latere potuerint scripta illa apostolica, ut omnium fugerint oculos. Ast divina hic mihi admiranda ac adoranda videtur providentia, quae ad tempus data scripta, dum aliorum quae permanent in vitae canonem perpetuum nondum esset in ecclesiis copia, deinde protinus e medio tolli voluerit. *Ens ibid.* §. li. p. 68.

had no knowledge of those writings of the Apostles, which he and some others have imagined to be lost. And he thinks it almost miraculous, or however a very wonderful dispensation of Providence, that they should so soon perish, as to be unknown to the ancients, as well as to us.

But does not that shew, that this whole argument is frivolous and insignificant? For plausible speculations cannot be valid against fact and evidence. If the primitive Christians knew not of any apostolical writings, beside those, which have been transmitted to us; it is very probable, there were none.



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